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HENRY DRISLER, LL.D.

JAY PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE

M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR ET LAELIUS

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY AUSTIN STICKNEY, A.M.
FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONN.

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OTHER VOLUMES IN PREPARATION.

INTRODUCTION.

I. The *Cato Maior* or *Liber de Senectute* and the *Laelius* or *De Amicitia liber* are a part of several philosophical works which Cicero composed near the end of his life. After that the fall of Pompey made it possible for Caesar to gain the supreme power in the state, Cicero retired from public affairs; and the death of his daughter, Tullia, which happened in B.C. 45, threw him into the deepest sadness. Impelled by the need of occupation and of relief from anxiety and sorrow, he devoted himself vigorously to writing on philosophy. The study had always been a congenial one; and what he had formerly regarded as an excellent training for professional life became now his only resource. This has been a gain for us; for although these works are not original in thought, they give us information on points of ancient philosophy where other sources are insufficient; and they have ever been read with the greatest pleasure.

II. Both the treatises contained in this book are written in the form of a dialogue; not a dialogue like those of Plato, in which question and answer, succeeding each other rapidly, aid to develop the argument, but one in which the chief speaker delivers a discourse with occasional interruptions from the listeners to break the monotony or to pass to a new point. Short introductions give the occasions of writing the books and the dedications to Atticus.

III. Titus Pomponius Atticus was born at Rome in B. C. 109, three years before the birth of Cicero. He seems to have had no taste for public life, at least in those troublous

times, and, when the civil wars broke out, he retired to Athens. Here he lived for a long time engaged in commercial affairs and literary pursuits; and such were his personal character and accomplishments that his house became a resort for distinguished men of the most different characters and political opinions. The cognomen Atticus is supposed to have been given him from this long residence and from his wide knowledge of Greek literature; he is said to have spoken and written the language with the greatest ease. The most intimate of all his friends was Cicero; and the letters to Atticus, beginning in the year 68 and continuing to Cicero's death, are one of the most valuable remains of antiquity.

IV. The date of composition of the *Cato Maior* can only be fixed approximately by inferences from casual mention in other works. In the introduction to the second book of the *De Divinatione* Cicero gives an account of his philosophical works up to that time, and after citing the *Hortensius*, *Academica*, and *Tusculanae Disputationes*, he continues in § 3: *Quibus rebus editis tres libri perfecti sunt de natura deorum, in quibus omnis eius loci quaestio continetur. Quae ut plane esset cumulateque perfecta, de divinatione ingressi sumus his libris scribere; quibus, ut est in animo, de fato si adiunxerimus, erit abunde satis factum toti huic quaestioni . . . Nam quid ego de consolatione dicam? . . . Interiectus est etiam nuper liber is, quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus; in primisque, quoniam philosophia vir bonus efficitur et fortis, Cato noster in horum librorum numero ponendus est.*

We learn from this passage that the *Cato Maior* was *interiectus* between the *De Natura*, the *De Divinatione*, and the *Consolatio*, *i. e.*, written at some time during the composition of those works. There are two passages in the *De Natura* from which we infer that that treatise was written after the death of Cicero's daughter Tullia,* and during the

* I. 4, 9 *Hortata etiam est, ut me ad haec conferrem, animi aegritudo fortunae magna et gravi commota iniuria*, etc.

supremacy of Caesar.* The *Consolatio* must be placed soon after March, 45. For the date of the *De Divinatione* we have another passage from the introduction to the second book, II. 2, § 6. 7: *Nunc quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus, tribuenda est opera rei publicae, vel omnis potius in ea cogitatio et cura ponenda, tantum huic studio relinquendum, quantum vacabit a publico officio et munere.* This passage was evidently written after the murder of Caesar, but commentators are not agreed whether in the spring or autumn of the year 44. The former seems to us the true date; because directly after Caesar's death Cicero returned to public life, was regarded by some as a possible leader, and cherished a hope of better times for the republic (compare the opening of the first Philippic), and the phrase *consuli coepti sumus* describes the beginning of this activity; moreover, if this introduction was written in the autumn, it is difficult to explain the absence of any allusion to the *De Officiis*, which was begun in June (Ep. ad Att. XV. 13, 6) and two books of which were finished in November (Ibid. XVI. 11, 4).

In reading the introduction we are now quoting from we have a strong impression that the author is taking up the work after an interruption, and that the first book was written under different circumstances, probably before the death of Caesar.

If the *De Natura* and the *Consolatio* were written before Caesar's death, and the *De Divinatione* soon after it, and if the *Cato Maior* was *interiectus* among these, then it must have been written not later than the spring of 44. The majority of the commentators place it after the death of Caesar; it seems to us more probable that it was written before that event; because, if it had been written after it, there would probably be some allusion to the fact in the preface, instead of which we have only a prudent reference in general terms

* I. 4, 7 *Nam cum otio langueremus, et is esset rei publicae status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset,* etc.

to the state of affairs, at which one might "*interdum gravis commoveri*" (§ 1), and this would quite suit Cicero's position during Caesar's lifetime; then, directly after Caesar's death Cicero felt, as before mentioned, that the political outlook was more cheerful, and he would certainly have referred to the state of things in different terms; further, the summer of 44 was sufficiently occupied by the *De Divinatione* (the second book at least), the *Laelius*, and the *De Officiis*, counting also the time and thought given to politics. Recurring, moreover, to the first passage quoted above from the *De Divinatione*, we notice that the *Cato*, *i. e.*, the *Laus Catonis*, to which Caesar wrote his *Anticato*, is mentioned after the *Cato Maior;* of course this consideration, if any weight is allowed to it, would require the date to be placed earlier than 44, and this is not at all improbable. It is needless to say that *nuper* before *interiectus est* is too vague to afford any ground for inference, as its force depends entirely on the connection in which it is found.*

V. In the introduction to the *Cato Maior* we are told that Cato was chosen for the chief speaker in the dialogue that the discourse might have greater weight and dignity. M. Porcius Cato, generally called the Censor, was born, according to Cicero, in B. C. 234, and passed his boyhood on his father's farm near Tusculum. He early entered the army, serving as a common soldier at the battle of Lake Trasimenus in 217. He was at Capua in 214 under Q. Fabius Maximus, at Tarentum as military tribune in 209, and at the battle of the Metaurus in 207. On entering political life he was quaestor in 204 and accompanied the elder Africanus to Sicily; but disagreements soon arose between them, Cato withdrew from the army, and the breach was never healed. After returning to Rome he was plebeian aedile in 199, praetor in 198 with Sardinia as a province, where he carried

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* It may be added that this view is held by Th. Schiche in his text-edition (Leipzig, Freytag, 1884); and by Th. Maurer in the Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed. 1884, Vol. 129, p. 386.

out the most severe measures of reform. As consul for the first time in 195, with his friend L. Valerius Flaccus as colleague, he was intrusted with the care of the province Hispania Citerior, which was then in a very disturbed condition. During his stay in Spain the military operations were conducted with the greatest vigor, skill, and success; the administration of government was economical and just, so that the Spaniards were afterwards glad to rely on him as their patron to care for their interests at Rome. At the end of the campaign he was rewarded with the honor of a triumph.

After serving in the war against Antiochus he continued his efforts for reform at home, denouncing all abuses and innovations wherever they were found. His censorship, the crowning honor of a political career, fell in the year 184, and this closed his official life; but his influence on public affairs remained unimpaired until his death, which took place in 149.

Thus Cato lived to the age of eighty-five, sober in his tastes, simple in his style of living, of unbending integrity, ever anxious for the welfare of the state. He was always regarded as a model of old Roman virtue, the last prominent representative of the old school, as distinguished from the new spirit of Greek culture, which was aided in its progress by the increasing wealth and luxury of the community.

VI. In choosing Cato as an exponent of the blessings of old age Cicero did not intend to give an exact historical picture. His own ideas on philosophy had been drawn from Greek authors, and so Cato is represented as having the same knowledge. There is a tradition that Cato became interested in these studies in the latter part of his life; but his opinion of the Greek nation was a very unfavorable one, he thought them "*nequissimum et indocile genus.*"

VII. There was extant in Cicero's time a collection of one hundred and fifty of Cato's speeches, of which we have ninety titles and a few fragments. His most important work was the *Origines*, an historical account of the begin-

nings of Rome and other Italian cities. The treatise *De Re Rustica* is still extant; and there were besides some writings on legal subjects.

VIII. The listeners are Scipio and Laelius. The two sons of the elder Africanus never attained distinction, the younger on account of his vicious habits, the elder because of feeble health. The latter, however, adopted the second son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor at the battle of Pydna in 168, who was therefore called P. Scipio Africanus by adoption and Aemilianus from his natural father. At the age of seventeen he fought at the battle of Pydna, and was military tribune in 151. At the beginning of the third Punic war he showed himself so able a soldier that, although he aspired only to be aedile, the people elected him before the legal age to be consul in 147; and in 146 he conquered and destroyed Carthage, thus earning the title of Africanus by his own achievements. He was censor in 142, consul again in 134, and became the leader of the aristocratic party in the time of the Gracchi; his unconcealed satisfaction at the death of Tib. Gracchus cost him the favor of the people (*dixit Tib. Gracchum iure caesum videri*). In 129 he proposed a law in the senate, of which the effect would have been to nullify the agrarian law of Gracchus, and advocated it in a violent speech; but, after being escorted home that evening by a crowd of supporters, he was found dead in his bed on the succeeding morning. Suspicions of foul play fell upon several persons, chiefly on C. Papirius Carbo.

But Scipio was more than a soldier; his education had been thorough and comprehensive, and he was very much devoted to literature and literary men. But of this and of his friendship with Laelius we shall speak further on.

Scipio's sister had been married to Cato's eldest son; and this circumstance, besides his own intimacy with Cato based on a veneration for his character and learning, probably suggested his introduction into the *De Senectute.*

IX. The dialogue is represented as taking place in the house of Cato in 150, the year before his death; Scipio

was then in his thirty-fifth year, and Laelius about thirty-seven.

It was Cicero's habit in composing his philosophical books to select a work of some Greek author upon the subject, and, giving the substance in his own language, to add such illustrations as might occur to him from his own experience. He speaks in § 3 of a work of Aristo on old age, but we have no means of knowing whether he made use of that in his own treatise. There are quotations of some length from Plato and Xenophon, which will be pointed out in the notes.

X. The plan of composition of the *Cato Maior* is very simple. After the dedication to Atticus (I.), Scipio (4) and Laelius (6) express their wish that Cato should discourse to them on old age; and to this he assents (7). After some general remarks (8–14) he mentions the four reproaches commonly made against old age (15): first, that it calls us away from the business of life; second, that it enfeebles the body; third, that it deprives us of nearly all our pleasures; fourth, that it is very near death.

The first point is discussed in chapters VI. to VIII.; the second in chapters IX. to XI.; the third in chapters XII. to XVIII.; the fourth in the remaining chapters.

XI. The *Laelius* was composed during the summer of 44. It is not mentioned in the introduction to the second book of the *De Divinatione*, written after the murder of Caesar; and it is mentioned in the *De Officiis*, II. 9, 31, the first two books of which were completed in November of that year.

XII. C. Laelius, the principal speaker, was born about 186; he was tribune in 151; when praetor in 145 he distinguished himself greatly in the war against Viriathus of Lusitania; and he was consul in 140 with Cn. Servilius Caepio as colleague. In politics, although at first inclined to the cause of the people, he became afterwards a stanch adherent of the aristocratic party.

But his whole temper of mind was not that of a soldier or statesman so much as that of a philosopher. Cicero and others speak of his cheerful and amiable temper and his

great learning. He was, in fact, with Scipio at the head of the literary movement of the time. An embassy from Athens had visited Rome in 155, consisting of Carneades the Academic philosopher, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Diogenes the Stoic; and from this time dates the more general interest in Greek culture among the Romans. The influence was at first sternly resisted, as likely to corrupt the public morals; but such prejudices gradually were overcome, or at least were of no practical weight. One powerful agent of progress was the literary circle that gathered around Scipio and Laelius, of which Polybius the historian, Lucilius the satirist, Terentius and Pacuvius the dramatists were members; and this was the rallying-point of the new learning.

XIII. But Scipio, of whom we have spoken above, and Laelius were intimate not in literary pursuits alone; they had served together in the field, especially at the destruction of Carthage, and had lived together at home. Plutarch mentions a common saying, that Laelius was the writer of the play in which Scipio was the actor. They were to some extent complements of each other, Scipio pre-eminently the man of war, Laelius the philosopher. Horace, Serm. II. 1, 72, speaks of *Virtus Scipiadae, et mitis sapientia Laeli.* Cicero, Brut. 21, 84, says, *Ut ex bellica laude adspirare ad Africanum nemo potest . . . sic ingenii, litterarum, eloquentiae, sapientiae denique etsi utrique primas, priores tamen lubenter deferunt Laelio.* And it was a singular coincidence that a similar friendship had existed between the father of Laelius and the elder Africanus.

The choice of Laelius for the chief speaker in our dialogue was thus a very happy one. His friendship with Scipio had become proverbial; his character was such as to win the regard of all who knew him; his learning, acquaintance with the old order of ideas and sympathy with the new learning, his honesty and patriotism, gave a certain authority to all his utterances.

One must bear in mind, however, in reading the book, that we are not to expect the precision of a philosophical treatise.

We are constantly reminded in the beginning that the friendship in question is not that of the Stoic sage, but that of common life. Besides, Laelius always speaks as a Roman, and as a Roman conservative; and the prejudices and sympathies of the writer himself are always very apparent. Many commentators find political allusions everywhere, taking the term *boni*, for instance, as almost always equivalent to *optimates*. But this is an extreme view. The treatise is intended to be simply an essay on friendship as we meet it everywhere; and, if we may infer from occasional expressions that Cicero thought "the good" were to be found only among the *optimates*, and the bad in the popular party, yet this is rather an evidence of his strong party feeling than of any intention to give a political coloring to his work.

XIV. The listeners are Q. Mucius Scaevola and C. Fannius, the two sons-in-law of Laelius. The former will be spoken of in a note on § 1; the latter served with distinction at Carthage in 146, and against Viriathus in 142. He also wrote a history of the third Punic war, of the exploits of the younger Scipio, and of the Gracchian troubles.

Cicero mentions a conversation of Laelius as the groundwork of his dialogue. Gellius, N. A. I. 3, 10, states that he also made use of a treatise of Theophrastus περὶ φιλίας: and several quotations from Greek authors will be pointed out in the notes.

XV. From the short introduction (I. 1–5) we learn that Cicero had heard from Scaevola an account of a conversation which Laelius had at his house with his two sons-in-law, C. Fannius and Scaevola himself, a few days after the death of Scipio Africanus (129); and it is not improbable that such a conversation actually took place. The author then explains to Atticus the purpose of writing the book and the reason for choosing Laelius as the chief speaker in the dialogue.

Fannius (II. 6), already in the middle of the conversation, refers to the death of Scipio; and Scaevola (8) joins him in asking Laelius what had been the effect upon him of so great a loss.

Laelius (III.) answers that he is consoled by the thought that no harm has befallen Scipio, who had already reached the summit of mortal ambition; and (IV. 13) that, believing as he does in a life beyond the grave, he feels that Scipio is now with the gods. For himself (15) he is happy in the recollection of their friendship, which he hopes will be remembered among the few that are famous in history.

At the mention of friendship Fannius (16) begs that Laelius will discourse upon it, and tell them what he thinks of it, what is its nature, and what practical teachings he can give in regard to it.

After some hesitation (V. 17) Laelius begins by saying (18) that real friendship can exist only between good men; not the good in the Stoic and unpractical sense, but the good whom we meet in common life; among these may exist a friendship rooted in our very nature, which is the strongest of human ties.

For friendship (VI.) is nothing less than a complete agreement on all subjects, joined to a kindly love; perhaps the best gift of the gods to men. Virtue itself may be the highest good; but it gives rise to friendship and is essential to its existence. Such a friendship (22) makes life worth living and pervades it in every part. It gives us (VII. 23) a good hope for future life; and (24) this is the universal, instinctive judgment of men.

Laelius wishes to stop here, but the young men (25) urge him to go on.

He has often thought, he says (26), whether friendship arises from a sense of need and a desire to satisfy it, or from some higher cause. It seems rather to have its origin (27) in our very nature, and in the feeling of affection which is called forth when we contemplate virtue in others. Compare the parental affection in animals and in man, and the sympathy we feel for one who is like us and whose virtue we respect. When this sympathy is strengthened (IX. 29) by mutual kindness, zealous interest, and companionship, there springs up a wonderful power of affection. And the

stronger we are (30), the more are we prone to form friendships; and this (32) not for the sake of any pleasure or from self-interest.

Again the listeners pray him to continue; and Laelius (X.) quotes the opinion of Scipio, that it was almost impossible for friendships to last till the end of life; political interests, characters changing with years, rivalry in love or ambition, come in to break them up; but especially (35) the unreasonable demand that one should go to all lengths, even to the doing of wrong, for the sake of a friend.

The question arises then (XI. 36), how far should one's affection yield to the demands of friendship? It is no excuse (37) for doing wrong that you have done so for the sake of a friend. With some friends (38) we might be ready to grant them all they asked, because (39) they would ask nothing wrong.

Let this law be laid down in friendship (XII. 40), that we neither ask what is wrong, nor do wrong if we are asked. And this we must observe in public affairs. For the public morals (41) have become very low; we have had Gracchus, Carbo, the Gabinian and Cassian laws; and the prospect for the future (43) is dark.

Let us make this first law then (XIII. 44) that we ask only what is right from friends, and that we do what is right for their sake, without delay; and be ready to give them counsel freely, and receive it when given from them. Certain Greek philosophers (45) have strangely held that too intimate friendships should be avoided, so that we may live an undisturbed life. Others (46), with still less feeling, say that friendships are good for the help they bring; they are for the weak. But (47) this tranquillity is of no value; virtue itself is of necessity accompanied by some disquiet; and, if we avoided that, we should become stocks or stones.

Since, then (XIV.), friendship grows out of the sympathy and love excited by virtue, we should place it above the common pleasures of life. It is founded in nature (50) and is a necessary thing; and virtue, from which it springs, is a

universal bond. Utility (51) is not the origin of it, though it may accompany it.

The greatest riches (XV. 52) cannot take the place of friendships; they give us only the life of a tyrant like Tarquin (53), or that of some upstarts whom we see among us (54). How foolish to accumulate useless things (55) and to neglect what is enduring.

But we must determine (XVI. 56) the limits of friendship. There are three current opinions: one, that we should love our friend as we love ourselves; a second, that affection for a friend should be measured by his affection for us; a third, that we should set the same value on a friend that he sets upon himself. None of these views is satisfactory; we often are willing to do much for a friend (57) that we would not do for ourselves; friendship should not be a matter of calculation (58); and (59) a friend who is too unassuming should be encouraged. Scipio condemned the rule that we should love as if we might some time hate; we ought rather (60) to use such care in forming friendships as never to love one whom we could ever hate.

Let us have friends (XVII. 61) of perfect character and a complete sympathy in all things, so that we can yield to all their wishes. But we must choose solid and reliable friends (62), and be careful not to give way to first impulses; for riches and ambition (63) offer great temptations to unfaithfulness.

The foundation of solid friendship (XVIII. 65) is good faith. It is well to choose a straightforward, sincere character, and one of similar tastes to our own; for both these things are essential to faithful friendship; and a certain gentleness of manner (66) adds much to our pleasure.

New friends (XIX. 67) should never be preferred to old ones.

A very important point (69) is that a superior should be able to put himself on an equality with an inferior, as Scipio did in our circle; and in like manner (XX. 71) an inferior should cast aside sensitiveness and reserve.

We must in general judge of friendships (74) when the character and age are settled; and our affection (75) must be tempered with discretion.

It sometimes happens (XXI.) that friendships must be given up; this should be done gradually and considerately, that they may not degenerate (78) into open enmity.

To obviate all the risks incident to friendship we must be careful (79) not to form attachments hastily, and to choose only persons who are worthy of such a relation. If we make choice from selfish motives (80) we lose the best part of friendship.

But many expect to find a friend better than they are themselves, and ask from him more than they can give in return; but there must be equality and self-restraint if we are to have a solid friendship, which is given us by nature as a help to virtue. And we must aim at virtue (84) in order to attain this companionship, which includes within itself all good things which men strive for in life.

Thus we see (XXIII. 86) how wrong any carelessness is in a matter so important; for all men are agreed that life is not worth living without friendship. It concerns all men (87), of all ages and characters.

But (XXIV.) in spite of the plain indications of nature we disregard her teachings. In the varied intercourse of friendship there are many possible occasions of offence; one of these should be especially guarded against; we should receive the counsel and reproof of a friend in a friendly way. It happens too often that flattery (89) gains one friends, and truth repels them. Cato said (90) that some men owed more to their bitter enemies than to those friends who put on a pleasant manner.

But (91) as mutual counsel is necessary in true friendship, so nothing is worse than flattery and insincerity; for it destroys truth (92), which is the essence of friendship.

And the true man (95) can easily be distinguished from the false. The common people readily do this, as (96) in the case of Papirius and that of L. Crassus. And if they do

so (97), how much more necessary is it in friendship? And yet flattery can really do harm only to him who takes pleasure in being flattered; for some people, who wish to appear virtuous (98), really delight in it. But even men of character (99) must be warned against flattery in disguise.

But virtue (XXVII.) is that which unites and preserves friendships; when this exists in different persons they are mutually drawn to each other, and there arises an unselfish love, free from any calculation of advantage. This we have felt (101) towards those who were older and those who were younger than ourselves. Naturally one should try to gain friends of his own age; but at any rate some friends we must have or we lose the whole pleasure of life.

For me Scipio (102) will always live; and (103) I can compare no gift of fortune or nature with his friendship.

XVI. The text of this edition is substantially that of C. F. W. Müller (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1879); a few changes are mentioned at the end of the notes. It was not thought advisable to print a complete Adnotatio critica; that given by Müller occupies nineteen pages, and is easily obtained at any foreign bookstore. It may be mentioned, however, that since Müller's edition was printed, Sommerbrodt has published his ninth and tenth editions of the *Cato Maior* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1885), and the fifth edition is expected from Lahmeyer (Teubner); of the *Laelius* we have the ninth edition of Nauck (Berlin, Weidmann, 1884), and the fourth of Lahmeyer (Leipzig, Teubner, 1881); and the readings quoted by Müller from these editors have been considerably changed in their later editions.

XVII. Of the *Cato Maior* two new MSS. have been recently discovered in the library at Leyden, and have been collated by two different scholars.* The MSS. are Voss. No.

* Vid. Hermes, XX Bd., 3 Heft, p. 331, "Zwei neue Handschriften zu Cicero's *Cato Maior*," by Wilh. Gemoll; and "Zur Handschriftenkunde und Kritik des Ciceronianischen *Cato Maior*," by Bastian Dahl, Christiania, 1885.

79, Oct., which is now designated as V; and Voss. No. 104, Fol., designated as v. V appears to be of considerable value for criticism; for instance, it is one of the very few which have not the gloss *ignobilis* in § 8. Dahl's collation has the additional interest that he gives several parallel readings from P and L; and those from L are not always the same as they have been hitherto given.

XVIII. For the commentary a great many editions have been used; in the *Cato Maior* perhaps those of Sommerbrodt and Lahmeyer have been the most useful; for the *Laelius* that of Seyffert-Müller. The difficulty of editing works which have been so much studied is chiefly that of choosing the matter for notes, and the exercise of the necessary patience for reading the endless commentaries. We have aimed to make the notes concise and useful for students in the Freshman or Sophomore year.

XIX. With regard to orthography it may be mentioned that Müller aims to give in his edition, as we suppose, the spelling current in the time of Cicero; and, when that was not uniform, he does not hesitate to preserve the variety found in the MSS. We have made very few changes in his text in this respect, being persuaded that the principle is a right one. The old English, German, and French authors are published with the spelling of their time, and no one cares now to read them in a modern dress; and the surprise at meeting the same Latin word written in different ways, perhaps on the same page, soon ceases to trouble us; sometimes even we discover an interesting fact of language.

A few references are given in the notes to the grammars of Allen and Greenough (A. G.) and Harkness (H.).

The whole work has been carefully revised by Professor Drisler, to whom the editor desires to express his thanks for many kind suggestions.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE LIBER

AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

O Tite, si quid ego adiuero curamve levasso, 1
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa, 1
Ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus adfatur Flamininum

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei;

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque;

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. Hoc enim 2
onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me etiam ipsum levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum

communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur digne satis laudari philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat, omne tem-
3 pus aetatis sine molestia possit degere. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus; hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Cius (parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula), sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio; apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare, quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

2 SCIPIO. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C.
4 Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime, quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

CATO. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, iis nihil malum potest videri, quod naturae necessitas adferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus; quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adep-

tam; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius, quam putassent. Primum quis coëgit eos falsum putare? qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde qui minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam si octogesimum? praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatio permulcere posset stultam senectutem. Quocirca si sapientiam meam 5 admirari soletis (quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!), in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optumam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

Laelius. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam 6 pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

Cato. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

Laelius. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

Cato. Faciam, ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim inter- 3 7

fui querelis aequalium meorum (pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur), quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab iis, a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querela, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querelarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; inportunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8 Laelius. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

Cato. Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem adsecutum: "Nec hercule," inquit, "si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses." Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest ne sapienti quidem nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non
9 gravis. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in

omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis (quamquam id quidem maximum est), verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est. Ego Q. Maximum, eum 4 10
qui Tarentum recepit, senem adulescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem; erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat, quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
> Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
> Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! 11
cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti: "Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti:" "Certe," inquit ridens, "nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem." Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga; qui consul iterum Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit

agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur; quae contra rem publicam
12 ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri. Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi; sed nihil admirabilius, quam quo modo ille mortem filii tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta, quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae; omnia memoria tenebat non domestica solum, sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita cupide fruebar, quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo extincto fore, unde
5 discerem, neminem. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa
13 de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam diu vellet esse in vita: "Nihil habeo," inquit, "quod accusem senectutem." Praeclarum re-

sponsum et docto homine dignum. Sua enim vitia 14 insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

> Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo
> Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis; anno enim undevicensimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt, ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quae maxima putantur, onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio 15 causas, cur senectus misera videatur, unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis, alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius, tertiam, quod privet fere omnibus voluptatibus, quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque, videamus.

A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? an **6** iis, quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, filii mei? ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam, 16 ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus in-

clinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum,
non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est
Ennius:

> Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
> Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est;
et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille
egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum,
cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent
censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex
quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse; et
17 tamen sic a patribus accepimus. Nihil igitur adferunt,
qui in re gerunda versari senectutem negant, similes-
que sunt, ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil
agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros
cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum
tenens quietus sedeat in puppi, non faciat ea, quae iu-
venes, at vero multo maiora et meliora faciat. Non
viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res
magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia;
quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senec-
18 tus solet. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus
et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bel-
lorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero; at
senatui, quae sint gerenda, praescribo, et quo modo;
Karthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante
denuntio; de qua vereri non ante desinam, quam
19 illam excisam esse cognovero. Quam palmam uti-
nam di inmortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi re-
liquias persequare! cuius a morte tertius hic et tri-
cesimus annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes
excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem

mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent sena-
tum. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii, qui amplissi- 20
mum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quodsi legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, quí vestram rem públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?

Sic enim percontantur † ut est in Naevi poëtae Ludo; respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

Provéniebant orátores noví, stulti adulescéntuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, 7 21
aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina; num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi, qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset; omnia, quae curant, meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant.
Quid? iuris consulti, quid? pontifices, quid? augures, 22
quid? philosophi senes quam multa meminerunt!

Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et
industria, neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris,
sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad
summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter
studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a
filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum
nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis in-
terdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari
removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam,
quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedi-
pum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque, num
illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sen-
23 tentiis iudicum est liberatus. Num igitur hunc, num
Homerum, Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num,
quos ante dixi, Isocraten, Gorgian, num philosophorum
principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem,
num Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem
aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem
Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus?
an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis
24 fuit? Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum
nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos
et familiares meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere
ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non
percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in
aliis minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex,
qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis
elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:
"Serit arbores, quae alteri saeculo prosint," ut ait
25 Statius noster in Synephebis. Nec vero dubitat agri-
cola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti, cui serat, respondere:
"Dis inmortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a

maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere." Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente 8 quam illud idem:

> Edepól, senectus, sí nil quicquam aliúd viti
> Adpórtes tecum, cum ádvenis, unum íd sat est,
> Quod díu vivendo múlta, quae non vólt, videt.

Et multa fortasse, quae volt! atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

> Tum equidem ín senecta hoc députo misérrimum,
> Sentíre ea aetate éumpse esse odiosum álteri.

Iucundum potius quam odiosum. Ut enim adulescen- 26 tibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur leviorque fit senectus eorum, qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur; nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid? qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici; quas quidem sic avide arripui quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud (discebant enim fidibus antiqui), sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

Nec nunc quidem vires desidero adulescentis (is 9 27
enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis), non plus,

quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti et, quicquid agas, agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui cum iam senex esset athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur inlacrimansque dixisse: "At hi quidem mortui iam sunt." Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator! neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur; quorum usque ad extremum spiritum
28 est provecta prudentia. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute; est enim munus eius non ingenii solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos; sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque per se ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis compta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim
29 est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? An ne illas quidem vires senectuti relinquemus, ut adulescentes doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tra-

dit senectuti. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo 30
sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex
esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam im-
becilliorem factam, quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego
L. Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post
alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset,
viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis
esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adulescentiam
non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso
dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nos-
trae conceditur. Videtisne, ut apud Homerum sae- **10**
pissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Iam 31
enim tertiam aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei
verendum, ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur
aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus,
"ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio," quam ad
suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen
dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat, ut Aiacis similes
habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod si sibi acciderit,
non dubitat, quin brevi sit Troia peritura. Sed redeo 32
ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesimum; vellem
equidem idem possem gloriari, quod Cyrus, sed tamen
hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus, qui-
bus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello
aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut quadriennio post,
cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas
M'. Glabrione consule, sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non
plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus, non curia
vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clien-
tes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum adsensus
veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet "mature
fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse." Ego vero me

minus diu senem esse mallem quam esse senem, ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit,
33 cui fuerim occupatus. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis vires habetis; num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest quisque, nitatur; ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum humeris sustineret bovem. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis vires ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras, nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae, eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat, quod
34 suo tempore percipi debeat. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere, cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere, nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit, summam esse in eo siccitatem corporis, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

11 Non sunt in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus iis, quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo, quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur.

At multi ita sunt inbecilli senes, ut nullum officii aut 35
omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem
non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune
valetudinis. Quam fuit inbecillus P. Africani filius,
is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius vale-
tudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset
lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem
animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur
in senibus, si infirmi sint aliquando, cum id ne adule-
scentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli
et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia com-
pensanda sunt; pugnandum tamquam contra morbum
sic contra senectutem, habenda ratio valetudinis, uten- 36
dum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis
adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur.
Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti
atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi
tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senec-
tute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatiga-
tione ingravescunt, animi autem exercendo levantur.
Nam quos ait Caecilius "comicos stultos senes," hos
significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos, quae vitia
sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae
senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adule-
scentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescen-
tium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae
deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium.
Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, 37
tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex;
intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat nec
languescens succumbebat senectuti; tenebat non modo
auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos, metuebant

servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vige-
38 bat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem, in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem, in quo est aliquid adulescentis, probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus, omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo, causarum inlustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes, ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto, multum etiam Graecis litteris utor Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Haec sunt exercitationes ingenii, haec curricula mentis, in his desudans atque elaborans corporis vires non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim, facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

12
39 Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, siquidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est, cum

essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam
capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis homi-
nibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae
libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitaren-
tur. Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum 40
eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia
nasci, nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus
esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis in-
pelleret, stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagi-
tium nullis excitari aliis inlecebris nisi voluptatis;
cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente
praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono
nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem; nec enim 41
libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque
omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere.
Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iube-
bat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta
percipi posset maxima; nemini censebat fore dubium,
quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente,
nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quo-
circa nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum
quam voluptatem, siquidem ea, cum maior esset atque
longinquior, omne animi lumen extingueret. Haec
cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius, a quo Caudino
proelio Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius consules superati
sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes
noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se
a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei
sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Taren-
tum venisse L. Camillo, Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio.
Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem asper- 42
nari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam ha-

bendam esse senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci, ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem, L. Flamininum, e senatu eicerem septem annis post, quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul in Gallia, exoratus in convivio a scorto est, ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperii dedecus.

13 43 Saepe audivi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis, qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia, quae faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientes M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat; norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius; qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius, quem dico, Deci, facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate
44 optumus quisque sequeretur. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio

nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magnopere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis, caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus (divine enim Plato "escam malorum" appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces), quamquam inmoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium M. f., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat; tantum licentiae dabat gloria. Sed quid ego alios? ad me ipsum iam 45
revertar. Primum habui semper sodales. Sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis; qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem **14** 46
tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quodsi quem etiam ista de-

lectant (ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus), non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem, quam maxime possumus, vario sermone producimus.
47 At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo, sed ne desideratio quidem; nihil autem est molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: "Di meliora!" inquit; "libenter vero istinc sicut ab domino agresti ac furioso profugi." Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iucun-
48 dius. Quodsi istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde iis, quibus senectus etiamsi non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam, qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum, quan-
49 tum sat est. At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium secum esse secum-

que, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studii atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Mori paene videbamus in studio dimetiendi caeli atque terrae C. Galum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio; quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et
lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! Quid in leviori- 50
bus studiis, sed tamen acutis? quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium; qui cum sex annis ante, quam ego natus sum, fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontificii et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atque eos omnes, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus; M. vero Cethegum, quem recte "Suadae medullam" dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae; quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego **15**
incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur se- 51
nectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae

numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit, quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio, quae hoc efficit, nominata est, deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; ex quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium mino-
52 rum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requiem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur e terra; quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines nonne efficiunt, ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus, quicquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coërcet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnes partes nimia
53 fundatur. Itaque ineunte vere in iis, quae relicta sunt, exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea, quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit vestitaque

pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat, adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum inmissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? dixi in eo libro, 54
quem de rebus rusticis scripsi; de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laërtam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius. Possum persequi permulta oblecta- 16
menta rerum rusticarum, sed haec ipsa, quae dixi, 55
sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rusticarum rerum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphasset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis. Cuius quidem ego villam contemplans (abest enim non longe a me) admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum (56)
sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent,

repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis, qui haberent aurum, impe-
56 rare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum; cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum adpetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo, qui eos arcessebant, viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, *de* qua dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervaca-
57 neis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? brevi praecidam: Agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque adlectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni aut vicissim umbris

aquisve refrigerari salubrius? Sibi habeant igitur 58 arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus, nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras, id ipsum utrum lubebit, quoniam sine iis beata esse senectus potest.

Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt; quos 17 59 legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis adtulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et derectos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum, qui adflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam eius, a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: "Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio, multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae." Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse: "Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est." Hac igitur fortu- 60 na frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit, quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia

teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M.
quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum
annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam aetate in agris
eosque coleret; cuius inter primum et sextum con-
sulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita,
quantum spatium aetatis maiores nostri ad senectutis
initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit;
atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media,
quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus; apex est
61 autem senectutis auctoritas. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio
Metello, quanta in *A*. Atilio Calatino! in quem illud
elogium: "Hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
populi primarium fuisse virum." Notum est carmen
incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de lau-
dibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum
nuper P. Crassum, Pontificem Maximum, quem postea
M. Lepidum, eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus!
Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar aut, ut iam ante,
de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed
etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus
honorata praesertim tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris
18 62 sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates. Sed in omni
oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare, quae
fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo
efficitur, id quod ego magno quondam cum assensu
omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem, quae se ora-
tione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente aucto-
ritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior
63 aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. Haec enim
ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque com-
munia, salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgi, deduci, reduci,
consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut

quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse. Quibus cum 64
a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quendam Athenienses scire, quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in vestro collegio praeclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed iis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles 65
senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur; contemni se putant, despici, inludi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vita, tum in scaena intellegi potest ex iis fratribus, qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in

altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne
vinum, sic non omnis natura vetustate coacescit. Se-
veritatem in senectute probo, sed eam, sicut alia,
66 modicam, acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero se-
nilis quid sibi velit, non intellego; potest enim quic-
quam esse absurdius quam, quo viae minus restet, eo
plus viatici quaerere?

19 Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque
sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, adpropin-
quatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse
longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam
esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane
neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam
optanda, si aliquo eum deducit, ubi sit futurus aeter-
67 nus; atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest; quid
igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut bea-
tus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam
stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se
ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa
multo plures quam nostra casus mortis habet; facilius
in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant,
tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectu-
tem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius
viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus
est; qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuis-
sent. Sed redeo ad mortem inpendentem. Quod
est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum
68 adulescentia esse commune? Sensi ego in optimo
filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fra-
tribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem.
At sperat adulescens diu se victurum, quod sperare
idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid

enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, cum id, quod ille sperat, hic consecutus sit; ille vult diu vivere, hic diu vixit. Quamquam, o di boni! quid est 69 in hominis natura diu? Da enim summum tempus, exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem (fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum viginti vixit)—sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis; horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec, quid sequatur, sciri potest; quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, 70 peragenda fabula est, modo, in quocumque fuerit actu, probetur, neque sapienti usque ad "Plaudite" veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat ostenditque fructus futuros, reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut 71 saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Ita-

que adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vi avelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse ven-
20 72 turus. Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis [mortemque contemnere]; ex quo fit, ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur: "Senectute." Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem, quae coagmentavit, natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime, qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime, quae conglutinavit, natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide adpetendum senibus nec sine causa
73 deserendum sit; vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

> Nemo me lacrumis decoret neque funera fletu
> Faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam inmortali-
tas consequatur. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse 74
potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni, post
mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est.
Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mor-
tem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo
animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est,
et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus
horis inpendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere?
De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, (75)
cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria
est interfectus, non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam 75
mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atili-
um, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti
datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis
vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum
tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi
ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius inte-
ritum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepultu-
rae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi
in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri
animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitra-
rentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ii quidem non
solum indocti, sed etiam rustici, contemnunt, id docti
senes extimescent? Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, 76
studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem.
Sunt pueritiae studia certa; num igitur ea desiderant
adulescentes? sunt ineuntis adulescentiae; num ea
constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur? sunt
etiam eius aetatis; ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senec-
tute; sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis; ergo,
ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt

21 etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tem-
77 pus maturum mortis adfert. Non enim video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio, tuque, C. Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos inmortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit, ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philoso-
78 phorum et auctoritas. Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse, quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea, quae Socrates supremo vitae die de inmortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? sic persuasi mihi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem, cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus,

et, cum simplex animi esset natura neque haberet in
se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile,
non posse eum dividi; quod si non posset, non posse
interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire
pleraque ante, quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum
artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles
arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videan-
tur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.
Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec **22**
dicit: "Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, 79
cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore.
Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum vide-
batis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus, quas
gerebam, intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse credi-
tote, etiamsi nullum videbitis. Nec vero clarorum 80
virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil
eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam
sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi
potuit animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus,
vivere, cum excessissent ex eis, emori, nec vero tum
animum esse insipientem, cum ex insipienti corpore
evasisset, sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus
purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem.
Atque etiam cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur,
ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque disce-
dat; abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt, animus
autem solus, nec cum adest nec cum discedit, apparet.
Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam
somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime decla- 81
rant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et
liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur,
quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis

relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote," inquit, "ut deum; sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri
23 82 pie inviolateque servabitis." Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum aut duos avos, Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum aut multos praestantes viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes, ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam, essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi inmortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad inmortalitatem et gloriam niteretur.
83 Quid? quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo, nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cui obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi, neque vero eos solos convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit

nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi
largiatur, ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis
vagiam, valde recusem nec vero velim quasi decurso
spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. Quid habet enim 84
vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat
sane, habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum.
Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi, et
ii docti, saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet,
quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existumem,
et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo. Commorandi enim natura devorsorium
nobis, non habitandi dedit. O praeclarum diem, cum
in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam!
Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus
ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo
vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius
a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit, ab illo
meum, animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans
in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat
esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter
ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me
ipse consolabar existumans non longinquum inter nos
digressum et discessum fore. His mihi rebus, Scipio, 85
(id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti) levis
est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda.
Quodsi in hoc erro, qui animos hominum inmortales
esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo
delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut
quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non
vereor, ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quodsi non sumus inmortales futuri, tamen

exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui, de senectute quae dicerem; ad quam utinam perveniatis! ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

LAELIUS DE AMICITIA LIBER

AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio socero **1**
suo memoriter et iucunde solebat nec dubitare illum 1
in omni sermone appellare sapientem; ego autem a
patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili
toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere num-
quam discederem; itaque multa ab eo prudenter dis-
putata, multa etiam breviter et commode dicta me-
moriae mandabam fierique studebam eius prudentia
doctior. Quo mortuo me ad pontificem Scaevolam
contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et
iustitia praestantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc
alias; nunc redeo ad augurem.

Cum saepe multa, tum memini domi in hemicyclio 2
sedentem, ut solebat, cum et ego essem una et pauci
admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere,
qui tum permultis erat in ore. Meministi enim pro-
fecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare
multum, cum is tribunus plebis capitali odio a Q. Pom-
peio, qui tum erat consul, dissideret, quocum coniunc-
tissime et amantissime vixerat, quanta esset hominum
vel admiratio vel querela. Itaque tum Scaevola, cum 3

in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Laeli de amicitia habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genero, C. Fannio Marci filio, paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Eius disputationis sententias memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitratu meo; quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne "inquam" et "inquit" saepius interponeretur, atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi videretur.

4 Cum enim saepe mecum ageres, ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res cum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est. Itaque feci non invitus, ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. Sed ut in Catone Maiore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam eius, qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset, sic, cum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laeli et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laeli persona visa est, quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret, quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate, et eorum inlustrium, plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis; itaque ipse mea legens sic adficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me loqui existimem.

5 Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior; nunc Laelius et sapiens (sic enim est habitus) et amicitiae gloria excellens de amicitia loquetur. Tu velim a me animum parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et

Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani; ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cuius tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens te ipse cognosces.

Fannius. Sunt ista, Laeli; nec enim melior vir fuit 2 6
Africano quisquam nec clarior. Sed existimare debes omnium oculos in te esse coniectos unum; te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni, scimus L. Acilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem, sed uterque alio quodam modo, Acilius, quia prudens esse in iure civili putabatur, Cato, quia multarum rerum usum habebat; multa eius et in senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur; propterea quasi cognomen iam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo non solum (7)
natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in reliqua Graecia neminem (nam qui septem appellantur, eos, qui ista subtilius 7
quaerunt, in numero sapientium non habent), Athenis unum accepimus, et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum; hanc esse in te sapientiam existumant, ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scaevola, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis, quod proximis Nonis cum in hortos D. Bruti auguris commentandi causa, ut adsolet, venissemus, tu non adfuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire.

Scaevola. Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multi, ut est 8
a Fannio dictum, sed ego id respondeo, quod animum

adverti, te dolorem, quem acceperis cum summi viri, tum amicissumi morte, ferre moderate nec potuisse non commoveri nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae; quod autem Nonis in collegio nostro non adfuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non maestitiam fuisse.

LAELIUS. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere; nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi, cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut
9 ulla intermissio fiat officii. Tu autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec adgnosco nec postulo, facis amice; sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas de Catone; aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem filii tulit! memineram Paulum, videram Galum, sed hi in pueris, Cato in
10 perfecto et spectato viro. Quam ob rem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum iudicavit; huius enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut iam cum utroque loquar, sic habetote:

3 Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes; sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo umquam erit, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit; sed non egeo medicina, me ipse consolor, et maxime illo solacio, quod eo errore careo, quo amicorum decessu plerique angi solent. Nihil mali accidisse Scipioni puto, mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum, sed se ipsum
11 amantis est. Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, in-

mortalitatem optare vellet, quid non adeptus est, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adulescens incredibili virtute superavit, qui consulatum petivit numquam, factus consul est bis, primum ante tempus, iterum sibi suo tempore, rei publicae paene sero, qui duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis huic imperio non modo praesentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis, de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnes? nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante, quam est mortuus, mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in qua etiam nunc erat Scipio. Quam ob rem vita 12
quidem talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria, ut nihil posset accedere, moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit; quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est, quid homines suspicentur, videtis; hoc vere tamen licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus, quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, cum senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vesperum est a patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita, ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

Neque enim adsentior iis, qui haec nuper disserere 4 13
coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri; plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum maiorum, qui mortuis tam

religiosa iura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur, vel eorum, qui in hac terra fuerunt magnamque Graeciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est, tum florebat, institutis et praeceptis suis erudierunt, vel eius, qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est iudicatus, † qui non tum hoc, tum illud, ut in plerisque, sed idem semper, animos hominum esse divinos, iisque, cum ex corpore excessissent, reditum in caelum patere, optimoque et iustissimo
14 cuique expeditissimum. Quod idem Scipioni videbatur, qui quidem, quasi praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, cum et Philus et Manilius adesset et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica; cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de inmortalitate animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est, ut optumi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemus cursum ad deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? Quocirca maerere hoc eius eventu vereor ne invidi magis quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora, ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali; sensu enim amisso fit idem, quasi natus non esset omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas, dum erit, laetabitur.
15 Quam ob rem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim, quocum mihi coniuncta cura de publica re et de privata fuit,

quocum et domus fuit et militia communis et, id in quo est omnis vis amicitiae, voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae, quam modo Fannius commemoravit, fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore, idque eo mihi magis est cordi, quod ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum; quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laeli amicitiam notam posteritati fore.

Fannius. Istuc quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed 16
quoniam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi,
pergratum mihi feceris, spero item Scaevolae, si, quem
ad modum soles de ceteris rebus, cum ex te quaeruntur,
sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem
existumes, quae praecepta des.

Scaevola. Mihi vero erit gratum; atque id ipsum cum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevortit. Quam ob rem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

Laelius. Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse con- 5
fiderem; nam et praeclara res est et sumus, ut dixit 17
Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum? aut quae est in
me facultas? doctorum est ista consuetudo, eaque
Graecorum, ut iis ponatur, de quo disputent quamvis
subito; magnum opus est egetque exercitatione non
parva. Quam ob rem, quae disputari de amicitia possunt,
ab eis censeo petatis, qui ista profitentur; ego
vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus
rebus humanis anteponatis; nihil est enim tam naturae
aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel
adversas. Sed hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis ami- 18
citiam esse non posse; neque id ad vivum reseco, ut

illi, qui haec subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere, sed ad communem utilitatem parum; negant enim quemquam esse virum bonum nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane; sed eam sapientiam interpretantur, quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus, nos autem ea, quae sunt in usu vitaque communi, non ea, quae finguntur aut optantur, spectare debemus. Numquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Quare sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum, concedant, ut viri boni fuerint. Ne id quidem facient, negabunt id nisi sapienti posse
19 concedi. Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva. Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, aequitas, liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas, libido, audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ii fuerunt, modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnes esset societas quaedam, maior autem, ut quisque proxume accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni; cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit; sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex propinquitate benivolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; sublata enim benivolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur,
20 propinquitatis manet. Quanta autem vis amicitiae sit, ex hoc intellegi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum,

ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos iungeretur.

Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum 6
humanarumque rerum cum benivolentia et caritate consensio; qua quidem haut scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a dis inmortalibus datum. Divitias alii praeponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc quidem extremum, illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem, sed haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. Iam 21
virtutem ex consuetudine vitae sermonisque nostri interpretemur nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur virosque bonos eos, qui habentur, numeremus, Paulos, Catones, Galos, Scipiones, Philos; his communis vita contenta est; eos autem omittamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Talis 22
igitur inter viros amicitia tantas oportunitates habet, quantas vix queo dicere. Principio qui potest esse vita "vitalis," ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benivolentia conquiescit? Quid dulcius quam habere, quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes, qui illis aeque ac tu ipse gauderet? adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae res, quae expetuntur, oportunae sunt singulae rebus fere singulis, divitiae, ut utare, opes, ut colare, honores, ut laudere, voluptates, ut gaudeas, valetudo, ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis;

amicitia res plurimas continet; quoquo te verteris,
praesto est, nullo loco excluditur, numquam intempe-
stiva, numquam molesta est; itaque non aqua, non
igni, ut aiunt, locis pluribus utimur quam amicitia.
Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri, quae ta-
men ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta
loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam
et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia et adversas
partiens communicansque leviores.

7 Cumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amici-
23 tia contineat, tum illa nimirum praestat omnibus,
quod bonam spem praelucet in posterum nec debili-
tari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum enim amicum
qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui.
Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et
inbecilli valent et, quod difficilius dictu est, mortui
vivunt; tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prose-
quitur amicorum. Ex quo illorum beata mors videtur,
horum vita laudabilis. Quodsi exemeris ex rerum na-
tura benivolentiae coniunctionem, nec domus ulla nec
urbs stare poterit, ne agri quidem cultus permanebit.
Id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae con-
cordiaeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque ex discordiis
percipi potest. Quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae
tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis et discidiis
funditus possit everti? Ex quo, quantum boni sit in
24 amicitia, iudicari potest. Agrigentinum quidem doc-
tum quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum
ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo consta-
rent, quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam,
dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc quidem omnes mor-
tales et intellegunt et re probant. Itaque, si quando

aliquod officium exstitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est, qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis et amici mei M. Pacuvi nova fabula! cum ignorante rege, uter Orestes *esset*, *Pylades* Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta; quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, cum homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero iudicarent.

Hactenus mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem potuisse dicere; si qua praeterea sunt (credo autem esse multa), ab iis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quaeritote.

Fannius. Nos autem a te potius; quamquam etiam 25
ab istis saepe quaesivi et audivi non invitus equidem; sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.

Scaevola. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, cum est de re publica disputatum, adfuisses. Qualis tum patronus iustitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili!

Fannius. Facile id quidem fuit, iustitiam iustissimo viro defendere.

Scaevola. Quid? amicitiam nonne facile ei, qui ob eam summa fide, constantia iustitiaque servatam maxumam gloriam ceperit?

Laelius. Vim hoc quidem est adferre. Quid enim **8**
refert, qua me ratione cogatis? cogitis certe. Studiis 26
enim generorum, praesertim in re bona, cum difficile est, tum ne aequum quidem obsistere.

Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime

illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter inbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benivolentiam coniungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab iis percipiuntur saepe, qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa, in amicitia autem nihil fictum est, nihil simulatum et, quidquid est, id est verum et volunta-
27 rium. Quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia, adplicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi quam cogitatione, quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit, etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest, quae ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur, ut facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo est evidentius, primum ex ea caritate, quae est inter natos et parentes, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest; deinde cum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus, cuius cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere vide-
28 amur. Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil, quod magis adliciat ad diligendum, quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos, quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis est, qui C. Fabrici, M'. Curi non cum caritate aliqua benivola memoriam usurpet, quos numquam viderit? quis autem est, qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium

non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et Hannibale; ab altero propter probitatem eius non nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.

Quodsi tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam vel in eis, 9 quos numquam vidimus, vel, quod maius est, in hoste 29 etiam diligamus, quid mirum est, si animi hominum moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu coniuncti esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto et consuetudine adiuncta, quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis admirabilis quaedam exardescit benivolentiae magnitudo. Quam si qui putant ab inbecillitate proficisci, ut sit, per quem adsequatur, quod quisque desideret, humilem sane relinquunt et minime generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiae, quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum esse in se arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus; quod longe secus est. Ut enim quisque 30 sibi plurimum confidit, et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est, ut nullo egeat suaque omnia in se ipso posita iudicet, ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim? Africanus indigens mei? Minime hercule! ac ne ego quidem illius; sed ego admiratione quadam virtutis eius, ille vicissim opinione fortasse non nulla, quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit; auxit benivolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causae diligendi profectae. Ut enim benefici 31

liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam (neque enim beneficium faeneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus), sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore
32 inest, expetendam putamus. Ab his, qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt, nec mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abiecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quam ob rem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus, ipsi autem intellegamus natura gigni sensum diligendi et benivolentiae caritatem facta significatione probitatis. Quam qui adpetiverunt, adplicant se et propius admovent, ut et usu eius, quem diligere coeperunt, fruantur et moribus sintque pares in amore et aequales propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum, atque haec inter eos sit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur, et erit eius ortus a natura quam ab inbecillitate gravior et verior. Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret; sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiae videtis, nisi quid ad haec forte vultis.

FANNIUS. Tu vero perge, Laeli; pro hoc enim, qui minor est natu, meo iure respondeo.

33 SCAEVOLA. Recte tu quidem. Quam ob rem audiamus.

10 LAELIUS. Audite vero, optumi viri, ea, quae saepissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur. Quamquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat, quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitae diem per-

manere. Nam, vel ut non idem expediret, incidere
saepe, vel ut de re publica non idem sentiretur; mu-
tari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias adver-
sis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum
rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis
aetatis, quod summi puerorum amores saepe una cum
praetexta toga ponerentur; sin autem ad adulescen- 34
tiam perduxissent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione
vel uxoriae condicionis vel commodi alicuius, quod
idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quodsi qui longius
in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe labefactari,
si in honoris contentionem incidissent; pestem enim
nullam maiorem esse amicitiis quam in plerisque
pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris
certamen et gloriae; ex quo inimicitias maximas saepe
inter amicissimos exstitisse. Magna etiam discidia et 35
plerumque iusta nasci, cum aliquid ab amicis, quod
rectum non esset, postularetur, ut aut libidinis mini-
stri aut adiutores essent ad iniuriam; quod qui recusa-
rent, quamvis honeste id facerent, ius tamen amicitiae
deserere arguerentur ab iis, quibus obsequi nollent.
Illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare,
postulatione ipsa profiteri omnia se amici causa esse
facturos. Eorum querela inveterata non modo fami-
liaritates exstingui solere, sed odia etiam gigni sempi-
terna. Haec ita multa quasi fata inpendere amicitiis,
ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiae, sed etiam
felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

Quam ob rem id primum videamus, si placet, qua- 11 36
tenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Numne, si
Coriolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma
illi cum Coriolano debuerunt? num Vecellinum amici

regnum adpetentem, num Maelium debuerunt iuvare?
37 Tib. quidem Gracchum rem publicam vexantem a
Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum vide-
bamus. At C. Blossius Cumanus, hospes familiae
vestrae, Scaevola, cum ad me, quod aderam Laenati et
Rupilio consulibus in consilio, deprecatum venisset,
hanc, ut sibi ignoscerem, causam adferebat, quod tanti
Tib. Gracchum fecisset, ut, quidquid ille vellet, sibi
faciendum putaret. Tum ego: "Etiamne, si te in
Capitolium faces ferre vellet?" "Numquam," inquit,
"voluisset id quidem; sed si voluisset, paruissem."
Videtis, quam nefaria vox! Et hercule ita fecit vel
plus etiam, quam dixit; non enim paruit ille Ti. Grac-
chi temeritati, sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius furo-
ris, sed ducem praebuit. Itaque hac amentia quae-
stione nova perterritus in Asiam profugit, ad hostes
se contulit, poenas rei publicae graves iustasque per-
solvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici
causa peccaveris; nam cum conciliatrix amicitiae vir-
tutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a
38 virtute defeceris. Quodsi rectum statuerimus vel con-
cedere amicis, quidquid velint, vel inpetrare ab iis,
quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem sapientia si simus,
nihil habeat res vitii; sed loquimur de iis amicis, qui
ante oculos sunt, quos videmus aut de quibus memoria
accepimus, quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc numero
nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxi-
39 me, qui ad sapientiam proxume accedunt. Videmus
Papum Aemilium Luscino familiarem fuisse (sic a
patribus accepimus), bis una consules, collegas in cen-
sura; tum et cum iis et inter se coniunctissimos fuisse
M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium memoriae proditum est.

Igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus quemquam horum ab amico quippiam contendisse, quod contra fidem, contra ius iurandum, contra rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid adtinet dicere, si contendisset, impetraturum non fuisse? cum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aeque autem nefas sit tale aliquid et facere rogatum et rogare. At vero Tib. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tum quidem acer C. frater; nunc idem acerrimus.

Haec igitur lex in amicitia sanciatur, ut neque roge- 12 40
mus res turpes nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda cum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus, ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicae. Deflexit iam aliquantum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo maiorum. Tib. Gracchus 41
regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui quid in P. Scipione effecerint, sine lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem, quocumque modo potuimus, propter recentem poenam Tib. Gracchi sustinuimus; de C. Gracchi autem tribunatu quid exspectem, non lubet augurari. Serpit id in dies, resque proclivis ad perniciem, cum semel coepit, labitur. Videtis, in tabella iam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre iam videor populum a senatu disiunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent, quem ad modum haec fiant, quam quem ad modum iis resistatur. Quorsum haec? Quia sine 42

sociis nemo quicquam tale conatur. Praecipiendum est igitur bonis, ut, si in eius modi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment ita se alligatos, ut ab amicis in magna aliqua re publica peccantibus non discedant; inprobis autem poena statuenda est, nec vero minor iis, qui secuti erunt alterum, quam iis, qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle, quis potentior? qui cum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberavisset propterque invidiam in exsilium expulsus esset, ingratae patriae iniuriam non tulit, quam ferre debuit, fecit idem, quod xx annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adiutor contra patriam inventus est nemo; itaque
43 mortem sibi uterque conscivit. Quare talis inproborum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiae tegenda non est, sed potius supplicio omni vindicanda est, ut ne quis concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi; quod quidem, ut res ire coepit, haud scio an aliquando futurum sit. Mihi autem non minori curae est, qualis res publica post mortem meam futura, quam qualis hodie sit.

13
44 Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciatur, ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus, ne exspectemus quidem, dum rogemur; studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit; consilium vero dare audeamus libere. Plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter,
45 si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam (sed nihil est, quod illi non persequantur argutiis): partim fugiendas esse nimias

amicitias, ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus; satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum, alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel adducas, cum velis, vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem, qua frui non possit animus, si tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius 46 (quem locum breviter paulo ante perstrinxi) praesidii adiumentique causa, non benivolentiae neque caritatis amicitias esse expetendas; itaque, ut quisque minimum firmitatis haberet minimumque virium, ita amicitias adpetere maxime; ex eo fieri, ut mulierculae magis amicitiarum praesidia quaerant quam viri et inopes quam opulenti et calamitosi quam ii, qui putentur beati. O praeclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e 47 mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis inmortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius. Quae est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quodsi curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia lubidinem, ignaviam fortitudo; itaque videas rebus iniustis iustos maxime dolere, inbellibus fortes, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti, et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis. Quam ob rem, si cadit in sapientem 48 animi dolor, qui profecto cadit, nisi ex eius animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitramur, quae causa est,

cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest motu animi sublato non dico inter pecudem et hominem, sed inter hominem et truncum aut saxum aut quidvis generis eiusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse quandam volunt; quae quidem est cum multis in rebus, tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incommodis contrahatur. Quam ob rem angor iste, qui pro amico saepe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia non nullas curas et molestias adferunt, repudientur.

14 Cum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus adplicet et adiungat, id cum contigit, amor
49 exoriatur necesse est. Quid enim tam absurdum quam delectari multis inanibus rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis, animante virtute praedito, eo qui vel amare vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benivolentiae, nihil vi-
50 cissitudine studiorum officiorumque iucundius. Quid, si illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse, quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et attrahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo? concedetur profecto verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant adsciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate coniunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura. Quam ob rem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constet, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benivolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura

constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non enim est inhumana virtus neque inmunis neque superba, quae etiam populos universos tueri eisque optume consulere soleat; quod non faceret profecto, si a caritate vulgi abhorreret. Atque etiam 51
mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatum causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat, tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, iucundum, si cum studio est profectum; tantumque abest, ut amicitiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ii, qui opibus et copiis maximeque virtute, in qua plurimum est praesidii, minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haut sciam an ne opus sit quidem nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si numquam consilio, numquam opera nostra nec domi nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est.

Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi, 15
si quando de amicitia, quam nec usu nec ratione ha- 52
bent cognitam, disputabunt. Nam quis est, pro deorum fidem atque hominum! qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec enim est tyrannorum vita nimirum, in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benivolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae. Quis enim aut eum 53
diligat, quem metuat, aut eum, a quo se metui putet? Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus. Quodsi forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderunt, tum intelle-

gitur, quam fuerint inopes amicorum. Quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, tum exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, cum iam
54 neutris gratiam referre posset. Quamquam miror, illa superbia et inportunitate si quemquam amicum habere potuit. Atque ut huius, quem dixi, mores veros amicos parare non potuerunt, sic multorum opes praepotentium excludunt amicitias fideles. Non enim solum ipsa Fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos, quos conplexa est; itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contumacia, nec quicquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea commodis fuerint moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus inmutari [, sperni
55 ab iis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis]. Quid autem stultius quam, cum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cetera parare, quae parantur pecunia, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa pretiosa, amicos non parare, optumam et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? etenim cetera cum parant, cui parent, nesciunt, nec cuius causa laborent (eius enim est istorum quidque, qui vicit viribus), amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio; ut, etiamsi illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona Fortunae, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse iucunda. Sed haec hactenus.

16
56 Constituendi autem sunt, qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi. De quibus tres video sententias ferri, quarum nullam probo, unam, ut eodem modo erga amicum adfecti simus, quo erga nosmet ipsos, alteram, ut nostra in amicos benivolentia illorum erga nos benivolentiae pariter aequaliterque

respondeat, tertiam, ut, quanti quisque se ipse facit, tanti fiat ab amicis. Harum trium sententiarum nulli 57 prorsus adsentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quem ad modum in se quisque sit, sic in amicum sit animatus. Quam multa enim, quae nostra causa numquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum! precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum acerbius in aliquem invehi insectarique vehementius, quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime; multaeque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut iis amici potius quam ipsi fruantur. Altera sententia est, quae 58 definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia nec observare restricte, ne plus reddat quam acceperit; neque enim verendum est, ne quid excidat, aut ne quid in terram defluat, aut ne plus aequo quid in amicitiam congeratur. Tertius vero ille finis deterrumus, 59 ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Saepe enim in quibusdam aut animus abiectior est aut spes amplificandae fortunae fractior. Non est igitur amici talem esse in eum, qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere, ut amici iacentem animum excitet inducatque *in* spem cogitationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae constituendus est, si prius, quid maxume reprehendere Scipio solitus sit, dixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam eius, qui dixisset ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec vero se adduci posse, ut hoc, quem ad modum putaretur, a Biante esse dictum

crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; impuri cuiusdam aut ambitiosi aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit ei, cui se putabit inimicum esse posse? quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare, ut quam saepissime peccet amicus, quo plures det sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehendendum; rursum autem recte factis commodisque amicorum necesse erit
60 angi, dolere, invidere. Quare hoc quidem praeceptum, cuiuscumque est, ad tollendam amicitiam valet; illud potius praecipiendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis, ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum, quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin etiam, si minus felices in diligendo fuissemus, ferendum id Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

17
61 His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, cum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, ut etiam, si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus iustae amicorum voluntates adiuvandae sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum de via sit, modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur; est enim, quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit. Nec vero neglegenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benivolentiam civium; quam blanditiis et adsentando colligere turpe est; virtus, quam
62 sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est. Sed (saepe enim redeo ad Scipionem, cuius omnis sermo erat de amicitia) querebatur, quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent; capras et oves quot quisque haberet, dicere posse, amicos quot haberet, non posse

dicere, et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in
amicis eligendis neglegentis esse nec habere quasi
signa quaedam et notas, quibus eos, qui ad amicitias
essent idonei, iudicarent. Sunt igitur firmi et stabiles
et constantes eligendi; cuius generis est magna pe-
nuria. Et iudicare difficile est sane nisi expertum;
experiendum autem est in ipsa amicitia. Ita praecur-
rit amicitia iudicium tollitque experiendi potestatem.
Est igitur prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum 63
benivolentiae, † quo utamur, quasi equis temptatis, sic
amicitia ex aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amico-
rum. Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur
quam sint leves, quidam autem, quos parva movere
non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna. Sin erunt aliqui
reperti, qui pecuniam praeferre amicitiae sordidum
existiment, ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores, magistra-
tus, imperia, potestates, opes amicitiae non anteponant,
ut, cum ex altera parte proposita haec sint, ex altera
ius amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Inbecilla enim
est natura ad contemnendam potentiam; quam etiamsi
neglecta amicitia consecuti sint, obscuratum iri arbi-
trantur, quia non sine magna causa sit neglecta amici-
tia. Itaque verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur 64
in iis, qui in honoribus reque publica versantur; ubi
enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici anteponat
suo? Quid? haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam
difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates! ad
quas non est facile inventu qui descendant. Quam-
quam Ennius recte:

Amícus certus ín re incerta cérnitur,

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque con-
vincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis

18 deserunt. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitia praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro genere hominum iudicare debemus et paene divino.

(18) 65 Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque est eius, quam in amicitia quaerimus, fides; nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est. Simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem, id est qui rebus isdem moveatur, eligi par est, quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem; neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum, neque vero, qui non isdem rebus movetur naturaque consentit, aut fidus aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est, ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat oblatis, quae pertinent omnia ad eam, quam iam dudum tracto, constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse. Est enim boni viri, quem eundem sapientem licet dicere, haec duo tenere in amicitia: primum ne quid fictum sit neve simulatum; aperte enim vel odisse magis ingenui est quam fronte occultare sententiam; deinde non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum, semper aliquid existimantem
66 ab amico esse violatum. Accedat huc suavitas quaedam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et in omni re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

19 67 Exsistit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio subdifficilis, num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere

solemus. Indigna homine dubitatio! Non enim debent esse amicitiarum sicut aliarum rerum satietates; veterrima quaeque, ut ea vina, quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debet suavissima; verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. Novitates autem si spem 68 adferunt, ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus fructus appareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae, vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda; maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin ipso equo, cuius modo feci mentionem, si nulla res impediat, nemo est, quin eo, quo consuevit, libentius utatur quam intractato et novo. Nec vero in hoc, quod est animal, sed in iis etiam, quae sunt inanima, consuetudo valet, cum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus.

Sed maximum est in amicitia parem esse inferiori. 69 Saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Numquam se ille Philo, numquam Rupilio, numquam Mummio anteposuit, numquam inferioris ordinis amicis, Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate, tamquam superiorem colebat suosque omnes per se posse esse ampliores volebat. Quod faciendum imitandumque 70 est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis, ingenii, fortunae consecuti sint, inpertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis, ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant inbecilliore vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati. Ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerunt,

cum cogniti sunt et aut deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod est multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus enim ingenii et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum maxumus capitur, cum in proxumum quemque confertur.

20 Ut igitur ii, qui sunt in amicitiae coniunctionisque
71 necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum inferioribus debent, sic inferiores non dolere se a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant, eoque magis, si habere se putant, quod officiose et amice et cum labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere. Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium; quae meminisse debet is, in quem conlata
72 sunt, non commemorare, qui contulit. Quam ob rem, ut ii, qui superiores sunt, summittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam, qui molestas amicitias faciunt, cum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere contingit nisi iis, qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur; qui hac opinione non modo verbis, sed etiam opere levandi sunt.
73 Tantum autem cuique tribuendum, primum quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde etiam quantum ille, quem diligas atque adiuves, sustinere. Non enim neque tu possis, quamvis excellas, omnes tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere, ut Scipio P. Rupilium potuit consulem efficere, fratrem eius Lucium non potuit. Quodsi etiam possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen, quid ille possit sustinere.

74 Omnino amicitiae corroboratis iam confirmatisque

et ingeniis et aetatibus iudicandae sunt, nec, si qui
ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt, eos
habere necessarios, quos tum eodem studio praeditos
dilexerunt. Isto enim modo nutrices et paedagogi
iure vetustatis plurimum benivolentiae postulabunt;
qui neglegendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo
aest*imandi*. Aliter amicitiae stabiles permanere non
possunt. Dispares enim mores disparia studia se-
quuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias;
nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi
bonis amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter
eos, quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque
distantia. Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiis, 75
ne intemperata quaedam benivolentia, quod persaepe
fit, impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim,
ut ad fabulas redeam, Troiam Neoptolemus capere
potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem erat educatus,
multis cum lacrimis iter suum impedientem audire
voluisset. Et saepe incidunt magnae res, ut disceden-
dum sit ab amicis; quas qui impedire vult, quod desi-
derium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque
natura et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum
iustus. Atque in omni re considerandum est, et quid 76
postules ab amico et quid patiare a te impetrari.

Est etiam quaedam calamitas in amicitiis dimitten- **21**
dis non numquam necessaria; iam enim a sapientium
familiaritatibus ad vulgares amicitias oratio nostra
delabitur. Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum in
ipsos amicos, tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos
redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiae sunt remis-
sione usus eluendae et, ut Catonem dicere audivi,
dissuendae magis quam discindendae, nisi quaedam

admodum intolerabilis iniuria exarserit, ut neque rec-
tum neque honestum sit nec fieri possit, ut non statim
77 alienatio disiunctioque faciunda sit. Sin autem aut
morum aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri
solet, facta erit aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio
intercesserit (loquor enim iam, ut paulo ante dixi, non
de sapientium, sed de communibus amicitiis), caven-
dum erit, ne non solum amicitiae depositae, sed etiam
inimicitiae susceptae videantur. Nihil est enim tur-
pius quam cum eo bellum gerere, quocum familiariter
vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompei meo nomine se re-
moverat, ut scitis, Scipio; propter dissensionem autem,
quae erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro
Metello; utrumque egit graviter, auctoritate et offen-
78 sione animi non acerba. Quam ob rem primum danda
opera est, ne qua amicorum discidia fiant; sin tale
aliquid evenerit, ut exstinctae potius amicitiae quam
oppressae videantur. Cavendum vero, ne etiam in
graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiae; ex quibus
iurgia, maledicta, contumeliae gignuntur. Quae ta-
men si tolerabiles erunt, ferendae sunt, et hic honos
veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit, qui faciat,
non, qui patiatur iniuriam.

Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommo-
dorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis
79 cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos. Digni autem
sunt amicitia, quibus in ipsis inest causa, cur dili-
gantur. Rarum genus. Et quidem omnia praeclara
rara, nec quicquam difficilius quam reperire, quod sit
omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique
neque in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt, nisi
quod fructuosum sit, et amicos tamquam pecudes eos

potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maxumum fructum esse capturos. Ita pulcherrima illa et maxume 80 naturali carent amicitia per se et propter se expetita nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, haec vis amicitiae et qualis et quanta sit. Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se sibi quisque carus est. Quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur; est enim is, qui est tamquam alter idem. Quodsi hoc apparet in bestiis, volucribus, nantibus, 81 agrestibus, cicuribus, feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant (id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur), deinde ut requirant atque adpetant, ad quas se adplicent eiusdem generis animantis, idque faciunt cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in homine fit natura! qui et se ipse diligit et alterum anquirit, cuius animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus.

Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam inpudenter, habere **22** talem amicum volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt, 82 quaeque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab iis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea, quam iam dudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, cum homines benivolentia coniuncti primum cupiditatibus iis, quibus ceteri serviunt, imperabunt, deinde aequitate iustitiaque gaudebunt, omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet, neque quicquam umquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligent, sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maxumum ornamentum amicitiae tollit, qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. Itaque in iis perniciosus 83

est error, qui existumant lubidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam; virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea, quae summa sunt, pervenire, coniuncta et consociata cum altera perveniret. Quae si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturae bonum optumus beatissimusque comitatus.
84 Haec est, inquam, societas, in qua omnia insunt, quae putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas, ut et, cum haec adsint, beata vita sit et sine his esse non possit. Quod cum optumum maxumumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus; ea vero neglecta qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt, cum eos gravis aliquis casus
85 experiri cogit. Quocirca (dicendum est enim saepius), cum iudicaris, diligere oportet, non, cum dilexeris, iudicare. Sed cum multis in rebus neglegentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et diligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur consiliis et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam officiis repente in medio cursu amicitias exorta aliqua offensione disrumpimus.

23
86 Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime necessariae tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis, de cuius utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt. Quamquam a multis virtus ipsa contemnitur et venditatio quaedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur; multi divitias despiciunt, quos parvo contentos tenuis

victus cultusque delectat; honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius existiment! itemque cetera, quae quibusdam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt qui pro nihilo putent; de amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ii, qui ad rem publicam se contulerunt, et ii, qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur, et ii, qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi, postremo ii, qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere. Serpit enim nescio quo modo 87
per omnium vitas amicitia nec ullam aetatis degendae rationem patitur esse expertem sui. Quin etiam si quis asperitate ea est et inmanitate naturae, congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit, qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus, tamen is pati non possit, ut non anquirat aliquem, apud quem evomat virus acerbitatis suae. Atque hoc maxime iudicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere, ut aliquis nos deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleret et in solitudine uspiam collocaret atque ibi suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam et copiam hominis omnino aspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus, qui eam vitam ferre posset, cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo? Verum ergo illud est, quod a Tarentino Archyta, ut 88
opinor, dici solitum nostros senes commemorare audivi ab aliis senibus auditum: "si quis in caelum ascendisset naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore; quae iucundissima fuisset, si aliquem, cui narraret, habuisset." Sic natura solitarium nihil amat

semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum adnititur; quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

24 Sed cum tot signis eadem natura declaret, quid velit, anquirat, desideret, tamen obsurdescimus nescio quo modo nec ea, quae ab ea monemur, audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiae, multaeque causae suspicionum offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre sapientis est; una illa sublevanda offensio est, ut et utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatur: nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et obiurgandi, et haec accipienda amice, cum benivole
89 fiunt. Sed nescio quo modo verum est, quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit:

Obséquium amicos, véritas odiúm parit.

Molesta veritas, siquidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiae, sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit; maxuma autem culpa in eo, qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem obsequio inpellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et diligentia est, primum ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut obiurgatio contumelia careat; in obsequio autem, quoniam Terentiano verbo lubenter utimur, comitas adsit, adsentatio, vitiorum adiutrix, procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem digna est; aliter enim cum tyranno,
90 aliter cum amico vivitur. Cuius autem aures clausae veritati sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, huius salus desperanda est. Scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa: "melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri quam eos amicos, qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos numquam." Atque illud absurdum, quod ii, qui monentur, eam molestiam, quam

debent capere, non capiunt, eam capiunt, qua debent vacare; peccasse enim se non anguntur, obiurgari moleste ferunt; quod contra oportebat, delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est verae 25
amicitiae et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum 91
patienter accipere, non repugnanter, sic habendum est nullam in amicitiis pestem esse maiorem quam adulationem, blanditiam, adsentationem; quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum levium hominum atque fallacium ad voluntatem loquentium
omnia, nihil ad veritatem. Cum autem omnium re- 92
rum simulatio vitiosa est (tollit enim iudicium veri idque adulterat), tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest. Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus, qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque
semper, sed varius, commutabilis, multiplex? Quid 93
enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium quam animus eius, qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem, sed etiam vultum atque nutum convertitur?

Négat quis, nego; ait, áio; postremo ímperavi egomét mihi
Omnia adsentári,

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille in Gnathonis persona,
quod amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. Multi 94
autem Gnathonum similes cum sint loco, fortuna, fama superiores, horum est adsentatio molesta, cum ad va-
nitatem accessit auctoritas. Secerni autem blandus 95
amicus a vero et internosci tam potest adhibita diligentia quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio, quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen

iudicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem, id est adsentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem,
96 severum et gravem. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat in auris contionis, cum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis! Dissuasimus nos; sed nihil de me, de Scipione dicam lubentius. Quanta illa, di inmortales, fuit gravitas, quanta in oratione maiestas! ut facile ducem populi Romani, non comitem diceres. Sed adfuistis, et est in manibus oratio. Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maxumo, fratre Scipionis, et L. Mancino consulibus quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licini Crassi videbatur! cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur; atque is primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo. Tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum inmortalium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore me quinquennio ante, quam consul sum factus; ita re magis quam summa auctoritate causa illa defensa est.

26 Quodsi in scaena, id est in contione, in qua rebus
97 fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet, si modo id patefactum et inlustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quae tota veritate perpenditur? in qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum, id quam vere fiat, ignores. Quamquam ista adsentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei, qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit, ut is adsentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime, qui ipse sibi
98 adsentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. Omnino est

amans sui virtus; optume enim se ipsa novit, quamque amabilis sit, intellegit. Ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Hos delectat adsentatio, his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo cum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur haec amicitia, cum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis adsentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnás vero agere grátias Thaís mihi?

Satis erat respondere: "magnas;" "ingentes," inquit. Semper auget adsentator id, quod is, cuius ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum. Quam ob rem, quam- 99
quam blanda ista vanitas apud eos valet, qui ipsi illam adlectant et invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animadvertant, ne callida adsentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors; callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet, studiose cavendum est; nec enim facillime adgnoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando saepe adsentetur et litigare se simulans blandiatur atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut is, qui inlusus sit, plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius quam inludi? Quod ut ne accidat, magis cavendum est.

Ut me hódie ante omnes cómicos stultós senes
Versáris atque inlússeris lautíssume.

Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est 100
inprovidorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo pacto ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est sa-

pientium (de hac dico sapientia, quae videtur in hominem cadere posse), ad leves amicitias defluxit oratio. Quam ob rem ad illa prima redeamus eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

27 Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia; quae cum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen et idem aspexit adgnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est; ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia; utrumque enim dictum est ab amando; amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum diligere, quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita; quae tamen ipsa ecflorescit ex
101 amicitia, etiamsi tu eam minus secutus sis. Hac nos adulescentes benivolentia senes illos, L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C. Galum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, dileximus, haec etiam magis elucet inter aequales, ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummium. Vicissim autem senes in adulescentium caritate adquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis; equidem etiam admodum adulescentis P. Rutili, A. Vergini familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio comparata est vitae naturaeque nostrae, ut alia *ex alia* aetas oriatur, maxume quidem optandum est, ut cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum isdem ad
102 calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt, quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur; caritate enim benivolentiaque sublata omnis est e vita sublata iucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito

ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quae exstincta non est; nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo umquam animo aut spe maiora suscipiet, qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet. Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna 103
aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo, quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Numquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim, nihil audivi ex eo ipse, quod nollem; una domus erat, idem victus, isque communis, neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cogno- 104
scendi semper aliquid atque discendi? in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus. Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium coniunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa exstincta sunt alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen adfert mihi aetas ipsa solacium. Diutius enim iam in hoc desiderio esse non possum. Omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent, etiamsi magna sunt.

Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem. Vos autem hortor, ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

NOTES

NOTES ON CATO MAIOR.

CHAPTER I.

1 **1, 1.** The quotation at the beginning is from the tenth book of the *Annales*, a poem on the early history of Rome, and the first Latin poem in hexameter verse. A few fragments only remain. The author, Ennius, was born at Rudiae in Calabria in B.C. 239. According to one account, Cato, returning from Africa in 204, met him in Sardinia and brought him to Rome. Here he attained great eminence, and was regarded by the Romans as the father of their epic poetry. — **O Tite**: In 198 the Romans were at war with Philip, king of Macedonia, who was encamped with his army in a very strong position not far from their camp. *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, their commander, had spent forty days in skirmishes, and was now in doubt whether to risk an attack on the king or to go to Macedonia by another route. In this perplexity a shepherd, sent by the friendly chieftain Charopus, came to the consul and offered to guide a part of the army to attack the king in the rear (Liv. XXXII. c. 9 ff.). The poet, narrating the affair, represents the shepherd as addressing the consul in the quotation in the text. — **adiuero** = *adiuvero*, the *u* becoming short before the *e*. — **levasso** is an old form for *levavero* (*levaveso*). — **coquit** in the sense of "harass," "disturb violently," is peculiar to poetry and later prose; cf. Verg. Aen. VII. 345.

1, 2. versăt: In the older Latin final *-at*, *-et*, and *-it* were often preserved long in the third singular of the present indicative. — **1, 3. praemi**: Substantives of which the stems ended in *-io*, as *filius*, formed the genitive in *-ī* until the end of the republic.

1, 4. Attice: Cicero addresses the quotation, and dedicates the book to *Titus Pomponius Atticus*. See Introd. III. — **1, 6. Ille vir**, i. e. the shepherd mentioned in the second note. — **re**, scil.

familiari.—**plenus**: In the older poets the final *s* of the ending *-us* was disregarded when the next word began with a consonant, the syllable remaining short; it was frequently not pronounced in common usage, and often omitted in writing.—**fidēī**, with long *e;* this was the original quantity in the gen. and dat., fifth declension; the *e* was afterwards shortened when a consonant preceded it.—**1, 7. quamquam** is often used to introduce, not a subordinate proposition, but an apparently independent sentence, limiting or correcting what precedes, "however," "and yet," "although;" it is called in grammar the *quamquam correctivum*. *Etsi* is occasionally used in the same way; cf. § 2 *etsi te quidem* etc.; § 29 *Etsi ipsa ista defectio* etc. — **noctesque diesque**: The sequence *que . . . que*, common at all times in poetry, is seldom found in prose; perhaps never in Cicero, except in De Fin. I. 16, 51, where there is probably a quotation. Cicero uses *dies et noctes* or *dies noctesque* much more often than *noctes et dies*. Cf. Hom. Il. V. 490 νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ; Od. XI. 183 νύκτες τε καὶ ἤματα. —**1, 9. moderationem** (*modus*) **animi**, "self-control;" **aequitatem** (*aequus*), "even balance," "calmness." Hor. Od. II. 3, 1, *Aequam memento rebus in arduis* || *servare mentem*.—**1, 10. cognomen**: See Introd. III.—**deportasse**, "have brought away;" the word is used of bringing anything from the provinces to Rome; but under the empire it came to denote banishment from Rome. —**1, 11. prudentiam** is here not our "prudence," but "practical judgment," "good sense."

1, 12. eisdem rebus refers to the political condition of Rome at the time of writing, that is, before or after the death of Caesar according to the view we take of the date of the composition. See Introd. IV.—**quibus me ipsum**: The more logical construction would be *quibus ego ipse* (*commoveor*); but when a relative clause, involving a comparison, is inserted in the acc. c. inf., both the infinitive and the relative clauses having in sense the same verb, the verb of the relative clause is very often omitted, and its subject is attracted into the accusative. So De Fin. III. 19, 64 *quod deceat cariorem esse patriam nobis, quam nosmet ipsos* (*quam nosmet ipsi*); Liv. XXXIX. 24, 11 *civitates Thessalorum . . . in eadem causa qua Aetolos fuisse*.—**1, 13. quarum consolatio**: The objective genitive expresses many different relations; here "consolation for;" § 50 *epularum voluptates*, "pleasure from;" Lael. § 11 *maerore funeris*, "grief displayed at his funeral;" ibid. § 20 *rerum consensio*, "agreement in;" ibid.

§ 34 *contentione condicionis*, "quarrel about a marriage."—**Maior,** greater, a matter of more difficulty, i. e. than can be treated at present in this small space; so § 55 *senectus est natura loquacior;* Corn. Nep. II. 1, 2 *liberius vivebat* (*Themistocles*).

1, 15. de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere is a combination of two phrases, *scribere de aliqua re* and *mittere ad aliquem*, "to send" as a compliment, "to dedicate" to some one. The English expresses both ideas fully: "to write something on old age and dedicate it to you." Compare below § 3 *hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus*, and Lael. § 4 *in Catone maiore qui est scriptus ad te de senectute.*

2 **1, 15. Hoc** is defined by *aut . . . senectutis.*—**1, 16. urgentis . . . senectutis**: Cicero was at this time sixty-two, Atticus three years older.—**1, 18. levari volo**: Another and more emphatic expression is that with the perf. part. pass., as in Ep. ad Quint. Fr. III. 9, 3 *Quare domestica cura te levatum volo.*—**te quidem,** "you at least," whatever I may do. *Quidem* emphasizes or limits generally the word which it follows.—**modice ac sapienter**: The former recalls *moderationem animi et aequitatem* (l. 9), the latter *humanitatem* and *prudentiam* (l. 11).—**1, 19. et . . . et**: When the same verb is repeated in another tense Cicero generally uses *et . . . et*, not a single *et;* so § 3 *et diximus multa et saepe dicemus.*

1, 20. Sed is often thus used after a digression; "But," to return to the subject in hand.—**1, 21. occurrebas** = *in mentem veniebas.*—**eo munere quo,** in English, "of *a* tribute, which."

2, 2. absterserit is to be taken as the subjunctive of the perfect definite; the subjunctive of the perf. indef. is very rare in Cicero. The effect of the book, however, seems not to have been lasting; for in Ep. ad Att. XIV. 21, 3 he says *Legendus mihi saepius est Cato maior ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia. Sed mihi quidem βεβίωται.*

2, 3. mollem: *mollis* denotes "susceptible to outward impressions;" if in a bad sense, it is "weak," "effeminate;" in a good sense, "gentle," "sympathetic," "pleasant."—**2, 5. cui qui pareat . . . possit degere** = *cum is, qui ei pareat . . . possit degere*, "for one who follows her commands might pass all his life without annoyance." The verb *pareat* is in the subjunctive, as the clause *qui pareat* depends on another subjunctive, *possit; possit* is subjunctive because the relative clause *cui possit* gives the reason of the clause *numquam . . . poterit* preceding; but the relative *cui* belongs, not to *possit*, but to *pareat*, although it serves

at the same time to connect *possit* with the leading verb *poterit.* The construction is possible in English, but generally inelegant. For other examples see below § 64 *quibus qui . . . usi sunt, ii mihi videntur;* and Lael. § 35 *quod qui recusarent.*

3 **2, 6. Sed de ceteris,** "But of the other matters," i. e. other than the point which I am going to mention, and which we are now concerned with. *Ceteri* is often thus used *proleptically* to remove from consideration everything but the important point, which is then brought forward, often with other words to add emphasis; here we have *hunc librum* only. So § 20 *alia. Ceteris* refers to other subjects included in the study of philosophy; upon these Cicero had already written much, and intended to write more. The use of the neuter plural, except in the nom. or acc., without a substantive, is rare. We have below § 24 *in aliis;* and § 78 *praeteritorum futurorumque;* Lael. § 13 *in plerisque* (if the text is certain).

2, 8. ad te misimus: See § 1, last note. The use of the past tense, as in *misimus,* is common in the epistolary style, where the writer often adapts the tenses to the time of the reception of the letter; AG. § 282; H. § 472, 1.

2, 9. Tithono, who obtained from the gods immortality, but not eternal youth, and whose name became a proverb for decrepit old age. — **Aristo Cius,** Κεῖος, a native of Cea, Κέως, now Tzia, one of the Cyclades, was a Peripatetic philosopher, and flourished about 225; he must not be confounded with Aristo of Chios, a Stoic, who lived about 270. — **parum . . . auctoritatis**: Cicero often separates words which belong together, thereby emphasizing both; so l. 2 *omnes . . . molestias;* § 21 init. *omnium . . . nomina;* § 53 fin. *fit . . . fecundior;* the effect is often enhanced by reversing the usual order. — **2, 10. M. Catoni**: See Introd. V.

2, 11. apud quem, "at whose house." — **2, 12. facimus admirantes,** "we represent expressing astonishment;" *inducere* is also common in this sense; Lael. §§ 3, 4. — **2, 13. ferat**: The subjunctive indicates the reason as given by Scipio and Laelius, not by the writer; AG. § 341, d; H. § 516, II; compare several instances in § 15.

2, 14. eruditius . . . disputare: With this remark Cicero meets the criticism that occasional remarks of Cato in the following dialogue are not in harmony with his known want of culture and his prejudice against Greek learning. According to Plin. Hist. Nat. XXIX. 1 (8) he said *satis esse ingenia Graecorum inspicere,*

non perdiscere. But he seems to have given more attention to the study of Greek late in life; see § 26 *ego qui litteras Graecas senex didici,* and note. — **2, 15. suis libris,** instead of *libris suis,* emphasizes *suis.* See Introd. VII.

2, 17. plura, scil. *dicere;* for similar ellipses see 6, 17; 18, 31. — **2, 18. nostram sententiam:** The author evidently does not intend to represent the historical Cato so much as to set forth his own ideas.

CHAPTER II.

4 **2, 20. Saepe numero . . . soleo:** Such tautology is common; Lael. § 26 in. *saepissime . . . solet;* De Off. I. 22, 74 *multi . . . saepe.* — **hoc C. Laelio,** lit. "this Laelius," "Laelius here." — **2, 21. ceterarum rerum:** See note on 2, 6. — **2, 23. quod . . . senserim,** "because I have never observed." The subjunctive here is to be explained on the same principle as the case noted above (l. 13, see note); a speaker or writer may quote his own thought or remark made at another time. The sense is: "I often express admiration of your wisdom, because I have observed (as I say whenever I speak of the matter)." *Quod . . . sensi* would have been a simple statement of the fact at the present speaking. — **2, 24. onus Aetna gravius:** A proverbial expression, alluding to the imprisonment of the giant Typhoeus under Mt. Aetna. See Ovid. Met. V. 346. Eur. Herc. Fur. 637 *ἁ νεότας μοι φίλον· ἄχθος δὲ τὸ γῆρας ἀεὶ | βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων | ἐπὶ κρατὶ κεῖται.*

2, 27. Quibus is dative of the possessor after *est,* strengthened by *in ipsis;* "Those who have no resources in themselves." — **2, 30. naturae necessitas:** See 29, 29 n. *sunt habenda in bonis.*

2, 31. Quo in genere, "And under this head," "in this class," etc. — **2, 32. eandem . . . adeptam:** *idem* is often so used to add another predicate or qualification of something that has gone before; see § 77 *et eam quidem vitam* note. The asyndeton here is to be noticed; in English the conjunction is necessary; "*but* (and yet) they find fault with it when they have attained it." For *adeptam* some early editions, Müller and the editors who follow him, read *adepti.* Müller cites the Leyden MS. to support this reading; but the latest collator of that MS., B. Dahl (see Introd. XVII.), p. 11, gives *adeptam* as the reading at first hand, and *adepti* as a correction, *secunda manu.* So that *adeptam* has

the support of L (first hand) P V and almost all the others; *adepti* that of the Leyden (second hand) and the Erfurt MSS. Under these circumstances we have restored *adeptam*. It is objected that Cicero never uses this participle in the passive sense; but Sallust, Iug. 101, says *adeptam victoriam*, Cat. 7 *adepta libertate;* and Cicero uses several others in the same way: § 74 *meditatus*, § 59 *dimensus*, Lael. § 63 *periclitatus*, and others mentioned in the grammars; Zumpt § 632. For the idea of the passage compare Stobaeus, Flor. Tit. 115 (Krates):

> *Ὠνείδισάς μοι γῆρας ὡς κακὸν μέγα, . . .*
> *οὗ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦμεν· ἂν δ' ἔλθῃ ποτέ,*
> *ἀνιώμεθ'· οὕτως ἐσμὲν ἀχάριστοι φύσει:*

Ibid. Tit. 116:

> *Γῆρας ἐπὰν μὲν ἀπῇ, πᾶς εὔχεται· ἢν δέ ποτ' ἔλθῃ,*
> *μέμφεται· ἔστι δ' ἀεὶ κρεῖσσον ὀφειλόμενον.*

3, 2. aiunt, scil. *stulti*, from *stultitiae* in the preceding line.

3, 3. falsum, "what is false." — **3, 4. adulescentiae senectus,** etc.: Varro, in Censor. 14, makes five divisions of human life: *pueritia* until fifteen, *adulescentia* until thirty, *iuventus* until forty-five, *aetas seniorum* until sixty, *senectus* until death. But in common language *adulescentia* and *iuventus* were often confounded, *aetas seniorum* was often included under *senectus*, and various equivalent expressions were employed. Compare §§ 33, 60, 76. — **3, 7. praeterita . . . cum effluxisset**: The pleonasm adds emphasis. *Cum* is merely temporal, and the mood of *effluxisset* is owing to that of *posset;* it really contains a condition "if it had once passed."

5 **3, 10. quae utinam digna esset,** "and O that it were worthy," modestly assuming that it is not so. — **3, 11. nostro cognomine,** i. e. the surname of "*Sapiens*," which is not to be understood in the philosophical, but in a practical sense; Lael. § 6 *quia multarum rerum usum habebat*. *Cognomen* here denotes what in later Latin was called the *agnomen*, a title added in consequence of some achievement or accidental circumstance. — **3, 12. naturam optumam ducem,** etc.: The superlative ending in *-umus* was the older form; that in *-imus* became common in the time of Caesar, though the former did not pass away at once. The Stoic doctrine was that the happy life, the life of the good man, the *sapiens*, consisted in a complete harmony with the constitution of nature; Stob. Ecl. Eth. II. p. 134 *τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν;* De Off.

III. 3, 13 *convenienter naturae vivere.*—**tamquam deum**: So Seneca, Ben. IV. 7, 1, says *quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et divina ratio toti mundo partibus eius inserta?* — **3, 14. discriptae sint,** "marked out" and defined, so that each part has its appropriate duties and pleasures. *Describere* is "to describe;" in our text this distinction is always observed, although naturally the MSS. readings are not consistent. The comparison of human life to a drama occurs also in §§ 64, 70, 85.

3, 16. necesse fuit, "it *was* necessary," i. e. according to the original constitution of nature. — **3, 17. bacis** denotes not only "berries," but any fruit of a tree; so Tusc. Disp. I. 14, 31 *arbores seret diligens agricola, quarum aspiciet bacam ipse numquam.* — **3, 18. ferundum**: The older form of the gerundive in *-undo* is common in the MSS. of Cicero and Caesar, and often occurs even in imperial times; so 8, 13 *gerunda*, and especially where *i* precedes *-undo*, as below, l. 30, *ingrediundum.* — **3, 19. molliter,** in the same sense as *mollis* in § 2. — **Quid est enim,** etc., lit. "For what else is fighting against the gods, as the giants did, but to resist nature?" But the English idiom reverses the comparison; we should ask, "What is living contrary to nature but fighting against the gods, as the giants did?" So De Off. III. 13, 55; De Div. II. 36, 78; Verr. I. 10, 28 *quid est, quaeso, Metelle, iudicium corrumpere, si hoc non est?*

6 **3, 21. Atqui** introduces with emphasis something more or less contrasted with what precedes; the force here is, "But really," instead of stopping here, you will gratify us very much if you will go on, etc. — **ut . . . pollicear,** "to promise for Scipio as well," "if I may be allowed to promise, etc." We should rather expect here the common phrase, *ut pro Scipione respondeam; pollicear*, "promise," is perhaps used because, if what Cato is about to do is *gratissimum*, it will oblige the listeners *gratias agere*, which Laelius thus promises to do. The construction *ut pollicear* may be explained by supposing it to depend on some verb understood expressing permission. So § 56 *ne . . . recedam;* compare § 52 *ut . . . noscatis* and note.

3, 22. feceris . . . didicerimus: The future perfect is occasionally used both in the protasis and the apodosis, although one action really grows out of the other; but they are almost, if not quite simultaneous. Often the two verbs express the same action regarded from different points of view; as in Ep. ad Fam. X. 13, 2 *Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit is bellum confecerit,*

"whoever puts down Antony (*ipso facto*, by the same action) ends the war." So in our passage; "if you teach us (=*si a te didicerimus*), you will at the same time gratify us very much;" cf. Lael. § 16 *pergratum mihi feceris . . . si . . . disputaris.*

3, 27. futurum est: The periphrastic future differs from the simple future in that the action is represented as depending on the power or intention of the agent or other persons, on the nature of the case, or on outward relations or circumstances; in this instance Cato will discourse upon old age, if the young men are so disposed that it will give them pleasure. So below § 67 *si non miser . . . post mortem . . . futurus sum*, "if I am not (in the nature of things) to be miserable after death."

3, 28. nisi molestum est: There are several expressions for this, § 15 *si placet;* Lael. § 24 fin. *si videbitur.* — **3, 29. tamquam . . . confeceris**: Cf. Plat. De Rep. 328 E δοκεῖ γάρ μοι χρῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν (τῶν πρεσβυτῶν) πυνθάνεσθαι, ὥσπερ τινὰ ὁδὸν προεληλυθότων, ἣν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἴσως δεήσει πορεύεσθαι, ποία τίς ἐστι.— **quam . . . ingrediundum sit**: An archaic construction (for *quae . . . ingrediunda sit*) used by Cicero in one other passage, Pro Scaur. Fragm. 13 *obliviscendum vobis putatis matrum in liberos, virorum in uxores scelera?* So Varro de Re Rust. I. 21 *Canes potius acres paucos habendum, quam multos.* — **3, 30. istuc** is not an adverb here, but a neuter acc. pronoun; by a common attraction *istuc videre quale sit* = *videre quale istuc sit.*

CHAPTER III.

7 **3, 32. Faciam, ut potero**: The future in both sentences according to the Latin idiom; we are less precise in the use of the tenses; De Off. I. 28, 100 (*naturam*) *si sequemur ducem, numquam aberrabimus;* AG. 115 a, 1; H. 470, 2. — **Saepe enim**: The whole passage is an imitation of Plato de Rep. 329 A ff., too long to be quoted here. *enim* does not introduce here a logical reason of what precedes, but a simple explanation, and is perhaps better left untranslated. Cf. §§ 39, 65, 77; Lael. § 3; Ep. ad Att. I. 16, 1. — **4, 1. vetere proverbio**: Plat. Symp. 195 B ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ ἀεὶ πελάζει; ἧλιξ ἥλικα τέρπει. — **4, 2. facillime** passes easily from the sense of "most easily" to that of "most willingly." — **quae . . . deplorare solebant**: After the paren-

thesis the construction is changed; the sentence is a mixture of two constructions: *praesens audivi*, *quae deplorare solebant*, and *interfui querelis*, *quas facere solebant*. — **4, 3. C.** *Livius* **Salinator,** commander of the fleet in the war against Antĭochus, and noted for the victory at Chios, 191 B.C. He was born probably in 230 (hence *fere aequalis* with Cato), praetor in 191, consul in 188. — **Sp.** *Postumius* **Albinus,** consul 186. — **4, 4. nostri:** Notice the change from the singular *interfui*, *meorum* to the pronoun of the plural, very common in Cicero; De Off. II. 1; De Nat. Deor. I. 3 and 4. — **quod . . . carerent**: For the mood see 2, 12 n. *quod ferat*, and § 15. — **4, 5. vitam nullam,** "life nothing at all," "life not worth living," βίος ἀβίωτος; the opposite is Lael. § 22 *vita vitalis*, and below § 77 *vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda*. — **putarent**: Subj., as the clause depends on another subj., and is a part of the same thought.

4, 7. Qui: The Latin often connects sentences by a relative when we use either a demonstrative alone, or a demonstrative preceded by some conjunction—and, but, for, yet. The relation of the two sentences may thus be of various kinds, and must be gathered from the context; it is a case where the modern languages are clearer than the Latin. In this passage *Qui* = *Sed ii;* in 22, 5 *Quae cum*, "For when she;" 23, 28 *Cuius*, "And his." — **id, quod esset accusandum**: The relative clause with subj. is explained by nearly all the commentators as describing *id*, *id quod* signifying "of such a nature that." But the reference in *id* is definite, namely, to the *mores* (l. 13 *in moribus est culpa*), and the sense of the passage seems to be: "It did not seem to me that they blamed that (namely, their own characters) which should have been blamed," i. e. if they had laid the blame where it was deserved. The case is an exception to the rule alluded to in 42, 28 n., and is one of the rare cases where the imp. subj. of those expressions is used of an impossible condition in past time. See Kühner, Ausf. Gr. d. Lat. Sp. II. p. 129, Anm. 1; Draeg. Hist. Syn. d. Lat. Sp. I. § 144, p. 302. — **4, 8. id,** differing from the preceding *id*, refers to the subject of the complaints, *quod . . . carerent*, etc. (l. 4). — **4, 10. quorum**: *multorum* depends on *quorum*. With *senectutem sine querela*, a preposition and case attached directly to another substantive, cf. Tusc. Disp. II. 3, 7 *lectionem sine ulla delectatione;* De Off. I. 8, 25 *vitaeque cultus cum elegantia*, where the ablative and preposition take the place of an adjective. — **4, 15. inhumani**: Cf. § 1 *humanitatem*.

8 **4, 18. dixerit quispiam**: AG. § 311 a.; H. § 485.—**4, 19. opes** denotes everything, material or intellectual, which gives a person influence or position, "resources;" **copias,** "wealth;" **dignitatem,** not "worthiness" (*dignus*), but the high position which should come from it.

4, 22. Est . . . aliquid, "That of course is something," has some importance. So Ep. ad Att. IV. 2, 2 *si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid;* Plat. l. c. *καὶ λέγουσι μέν τι, οὐ μέντοι γε ὅσον οἴονται*; so sometimes *aliquis;* Iuv. I. 73 *si vis esse aliquis.*

4, 23. Themistocles, etc.: The anecdote is found in Herodotus, VIII. 125; Cicero takes it from Plato, l. c. Seriphos was one of the Cyclades, and is also cited for its insignificance in De Nat. Deor. I. 31, 88. — **4, 26. Nec hercule,** etc.: Plut. Them. 18 *ἀληθεύων λέγεις, εἶπεν, ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ 'Αθηναῖος.* Themistocles says: If I had been born in a small place like Seriphos, I might never have been famous; but you would never have been so, even had you been born at Athens. So Cato says that poverty is a trial to persons of any age, but that riches and position cannot make an old man happy, if he has no resources in himself. With *Nec hercule* we must supply *clarus umquam fuissem.*

9 **4, 32. artes,** scil. *bonae* or *liberales*, the arts and sciences, the knowledge of which distinguishes the *liber*, free man, from the man whose pursuits do not require it. Cf. § 13 *eleganter*, note.—**5, 1. multum vixeris,** i. e. a life of much activity, in which much has been accomplished. So Acad. I. 2, 4 *multum . . . et diu cogitavi;* De Off. I. 32, 118 *diu secum multumque dubitasse.*—**5, 2. numquam** is strengthened by *ne . . . quidem;* the two negatives do not make an affirmative.—**5, 3. quamquam** (*correctivum*): See 1, 7 n.—**5, 4. conscientia bene actae vitae,** "the consciousness of having spent one's life well;" AG. § 292 a; H. § 549, 5, note 2.

CHAPTER IV.

10 **5, 6. Ego**: The position gives emphasis; "I," to cite from my own experience. Notice, too, the chiastic order and the contrasts, *Ego Q. Maximum, senem adulescens*, and the important word at the end.—**Q.** *Fabium* **Maximum** *Verrucosum*, surnamed *Cunctator* for his strategy against Hannibal in the second Punic

war, 217 B.C. He was consul five times, also *princeps senatus*, and died in 203. See the quotation from Ennius below. — **eum** is in apposition with *Maximum;* so below § 35 *filius, is qui te adoptavit;* § 78 *Socrates, is qui* etc. — **5, 7. Tarentum recepit,** "recovered Tarentum," namely, in 209; Hannibal had taken it in 212. — **5, 10. colere** was the common word for the relation of a client to a patron, or that of young men who often attached themselves to persons of distinction to gain a sort of education for public life, or for the respect shown to old age. Cf. below § 63; De Off. I. c. 41.

5, 11. consul, in 233. — **5, 13. adulescentulus**: In 214 Cato was twenty years of age. — **miles,** "as a common soldier." — **ad Capuam**: *ad* and *ab* are used with the name of a town to indicate "to" and "from" the neighborhood of the place. — **5, 15. quem magistratum**: This sort of attraction is the rule in classical Latin; i. e. a substantive in apposition with something preceding is taken into the relative clause which explains it. We say in English: I became quaestor, etc., an office which I held, etc. — **5, 16. consulibus Tuditano,** etc., in 204. — **5, 17. quidem** emphasizes *cum;* "in the same year that." — **suasor legis fuit** differs slightly from *legem suasit* in drawing attention rather to the person than to the action; "was the man who advocated." — **legis Cinciae,** etc.: During the second Punic war it had become the custom of some of the *nobiles* to accept presents from the *clientes* for services rendered them, especially in legal proceedings. To remedy this abuse a law was proposed in 204 by the tribune M. Cincius Alimentus, which provided *ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.*

5, 21. Ennius: Cf. 1, 1 n. The quotation is from the eighth book of the Annales. — **5, 22. rem,** scil. *publicam.* — **5, 23. noenum** is an old form for *non*, contracted from *ne-oenum* = *ne-unum.* — **rumores,** the clamor of the people on account of his delay. — **5, 24. postque magisque nunc,** lit. "both afterwards and more now," more and more as time goes on; Polyb. III. 105 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καὶ νῦν.

11 **5, 26. cum quidem**: *quidem,* as above, l. 17, emphasizes *cum,* but the cases are slightly different. Here *cum* connects the two sentences loosely, continuing the discourse; in English: "And it was at that same time" that he made the witty answer to Salinator, etc. Meissner reads *Tum* for *cum,* but quite unnecessarily; this is only an instance of the common use of a relative

word to connect instead of a conjunction and a demonstrative.— **Salinatori**: *M. Livius Macatus* was, according to Livy XXVII. 34, 7, commander of the citadel of Tarentum when the city was taken by Fabius. Cicero, in this passage and in De Or. II. § 273, probably fell into an error in thinking that it was the more famous *M. Livius Salinator*, consul in 219 and 207. In his last consulship Salinator with his colleague C. Claudius Nero defeated Hasdrubal in the battle of the Metaurus. He was censor in 204, and received the nickname of Salinator from a salt-tax which he imposed. — **5, 29. tu amisisses . . . recepissem**: At first thought one would expect an *ego* with *recepissem;* but it would have drawn attention from the contrast between *amisisses* and *recepissem.*

5, 30. vero introduces something even more important than the preceding. — **armis . . . toga,** "military . . . civil life." So in De Off. I. 22, 77 Cicero quotes the famous verse from a poem on his consulship: *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.* — **5, 31. qui consul iterum,** etc.: In the year 232, according to Polybius, II. 21, C. Flaminius, tribune of the people, proposed a *lex agraria* providing for the distribution of the *Ager Gallicus* and *Picens*, which had been recently taken from the Senonian Gauls, among the poorer citizens. He could not obtain a *senatus consultum* for the proposal (hence 6, 1 *contra senatus auctoritatem*), but the *plebiscitum* had the force of law. Fabius was consul for the second time with Sp. Carvilius in 228; so that Cicero seems to be in error in describing Flaminius as *tribunus plebis* in that year; perhaps he was *triumvir agris dandis assignandis* and then attempting to execute the law. — **6, 2. dividenti**: The present and imperfect are occasionally used of an action only intended or begun, *de conatu*, as it is sometimes called; as in Catil. I. 5, 13 *num dubitas id imperante me facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas* (=*facere volebas*)? so Lael. § 75 *impedientem* "attempting to impede." — **6, 3. optimis auspiciis,** etc.: Cf. Hom. Il. XII. 243 εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

12 **6, 6. admirabilius** (*miror*) includes the idea of "wonderful," "amazing." — **quo modo**: A common attraction = *modus quo tulit*, "the manner in which he bore." — **6, 7. consularis**: He was consul in 213.

6, 8. in manibus, "in the hands" of the public, in general circulation. — **laudatio** *funebris*, "the funeral oration," was still extant in the time of Plutarch. In his life of Fabius, c. 24, he

says: τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον αὐτὸς εἶπε καταστὰς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ γράψας τὸν λόγον ἐξέδωκεν. — **6, 9. contemnimus** means here little more than "make light of," "pay no attention to;" in reading the eulogy one cares little for what any philosopher has to say of bearing the ills of life with patience.

6, 9. Nec vero, as in the preceding section, 5, 30. — **in luce,** "in public," opposed to *intus;* **in oculis civium,** "in plain sight of his fellow-citizens," opposed to *domi.*

6, 13. ut in homine Romano, "considering he was a Roman." A noun is sometimes added in this way by means of *ut*, suggesting an explanation or limitation of what precedes. De Or. II. 1, 2 *Quos tum, ut pueri, refutare . . . solebamus,* i. e. "boys as we were" (simple explanation); Liv. IV. 13, 1 *Maelius ex equestri ordine, ut illis temporibus praedives,* "very rich, for those times," i. e. when the standard of wealth was low (limitation). So in the present passage; literary culture (*litterae*) was at this time rare among the Romans.

6, 15. ita does not qualify *cupide* alone, but *cupide fruebar,* having the force of *eo modo,* and defined by *quasi . . . neminem;* "And I eagerly enjoyed his conversation just as if I already had a presentiment," etc. The reading *ita cupide fruebar quasi* is that of P L V v, and thus has the best authority. Müller gives the reading of L as *ita cupide fruebatur;* but Dahl (p. 12) states that *tu* in *fruebatur* is cancelled. Schiche differs as to the reading of P. — **6, 16. illo extincto**: He died in 203. — **unde** = *a quo,* and is frequently used of persons as well as of places; *unde discerem* is a relative clause denoting a purpose.

CHAPTER V.

13 **6, 17. haec tam multa,** scil. *pertinent* or *spectant;* see 2, 17 n. *plura.* — **6, 18. Quia profecto videtis,** "Because you certainly see," i. e. after what I have said of Maximus; it would more naturally have been *Ut videretis nefas esse,* etc.; but the result is expressed instead of the purpose.

6, 20. Scipiones, i. e. men like Scipio. The hostility of Cato to Scipio would doubtless have prevented his mentioning him in such a connection; but Cicero is following his own train of thought; § 3 *nostram de senectute sententiam.*

6, 22. quiete et pure atque eleganter: *et* here connects two members, the second of which is double (*pure atque eleganter*). *quiete* denotes external quiet, *pure* moral purity; *eleganter* is commonly taken as referring to the decorum and refinement of life; perhaps there is an allusion to the occupation, *artis elegantes et ingenuas, artificia elegantia;* cf. above, § 9 *artes*, note. So in Vell. I. 13 the elder Scipio is described as *elegans liberalium studiorum*. — **6, 24. qualem**, scil. *fuisse senectutem*. — **Platonis**: Plato (b. 429, d. 348) was said, according to one account, to have died at a marriage-feast; but *scribens est mortuus* need not perhaps mean more than that he died in the midst of his literary labors. — **6, 25. Isocratis**, a famous teacher of rhetoric and eloquence at Athens, b. 435; he died by his own hand from grief at the defeat of the Athenians at Chaeronea.—**6, 26. Panathenaicus**, an oration still extant, written in praise of Athens, to be pronounced at the Panathenaic festival.—**6, 27. scripsisse se dicit**: In c. 1 he says *οὔτε τοῖς ἔτεσι τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέταρσιν ὢν ἐγὼ τυγχάνω γεγονώς, οὐδ' ὅλως κ. τ. λ.* — **6, 28. Gorgias**, born at Leontini in Sicily about 485, was the most noted of the sophists in the time of Socrates.

6, 30. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur, instead of the more usual *A quo cum quaereretur*. — **6, 31. vellet esse in vita** reminds us of the general opinion among the Greeks and Romans that suicide under certain circumstances was right; as, for instance, in the case of a burdensome old age. *esse* = *manere*. — **nihil . . . quod accusem**, "no reason to blame;" AG. § 320; H. 503, I. n. 2.

7, 1. docto homine, in this connection "learned," especially in philosophy.

14 **7, 1. Sua** and **suam** are made emphatic by their position.— **7, 4. Ennius**: See § 1. The quotation is from the eighteenth book of the Annals. — **7, 5. spatio supremo**, "at the end of the course;" AG. § 193; H. § 440, 2, n. 2. — **7, 6. Vicit Olympia**, in imitation of the Greek *Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν*, "conquered at the Olympic games." — **confectus**: For the elision see 1, 6 n. *plenus fidei*.

7, 9. hi consules, "the present consuls;" cf. § 4 *hoc C. Laelio;* § 50 *huius P. Scipionis*. — **T.** *Quinctius* **Flamininus**: Not the Flamininus mentioned in § 1, but probably his son; he was consul in 150. — **7, 10.** *Cn. Servilio* **Caepione et** *Q. Marcio* **Philippo iterum consulibus**, in 169; *iterum* relates only to the consulship of Philippus. — **7, 12. legem Voconiam**: The *lex Voconia de mulierum hereditatibus*, which Cato advocated (*suadere*), was en-

acted to prevent the accumulation of large fortunes in the hands of women. It provided that the wives and daughters of citizens of the first class in the centuries should not be made heirs to more than half their property. The oration of Cato was still extant in the time of Livy. — **7, 13. bonis lateribus,** "with good lungs." **suasissem** is the reading of nearly all the MSS. and older editions. Müller gives *suasisset* as the reading of P, which, however, is not, according to Dahl, quite certain. To us the emendation *suasit. Sed*, due to Forchhammer and adopted by Müller and later editors, seems not a very happy one.

15 **7, 17. Etenim,** "And in fact," to come to the general division of the subject. *Etenim* does not here introduce the logical reason of what immediately precedes, but is simply explanatory, introducing the general discussion. In § 7 Cato mentioned two grounds of complaint made against old age by Salinator and Albinus, and after some general remarks dwelt at some length (c. 4) on the instance of Fabius. After disposing of these he proceeds to set forth the line of argument he intends to take. *Etenim* often serves in this way to introduce an explanation or a detailed statement. Cf. Madv. De Fin. I. 1, 3; Lael. Seyf.-Müll. XII. 40, p. 285. — **7, 18. cur** = *propter quas.* — **unam . . . alteram . . . tertiam**: So Cicero generally says, not *primus, secundus, tertius.* — **quod avocet**: The subjunctive, as in 2, 12 *quod ferat;* so *faciat, privet,* and *absit.*

7, 22. si placet: See § 6 *nisi molestum est.* — **quanta,** "how important," i. e. in how great a degree its consequences are felt. — **quam** is very often in Cicero separated from the adjective which it qualifies by some short word, such as a form of the verb *esse.*

CHAPTER VI.

7, 24. Quibus: When an antecedent governed by a preposition is followed by its relative depending on the same verb, expressed or understood, the preposition is generally omitted with the latter; so also in questions and answers, as in the text. — **an,** in the best prose, always introduces the second of two alternative questions, the first, as here, being often suppressed. "Is it from all business (*Num omnibus rebus*), or perhaps, as we shall see in the course of the argument, only from

those (*an iis*) which, etc.?" If the second question is put with great confidence, *an non* or *an vero non* may introduce it; but here it contains the point to be proved.— **7, 25. iuventute et viribus** is often taken as a hendiadys, but whether for "strong young men," or "youthful strength," is not clear from the commentators. Both ideas were intended to be equally prominent.

7, 26. infirmis corporibus is abl. abs.— **7, 27. Q. Maximus**: See 5, 6 n.— **7, 28. L.** *Aemilius* **Paulus** conquered Perses, the king of Macedonia, at the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C. He was the father of *Scipio Africanus Minor* (see Introd. VIII.), and the father-in-law of Cato's eldest son.— **filii mei**: Cato's eldest son, *M. Porcius Cato*, died in 152, when he was only *praetor designatus*, two years before the date of the present discourse.

7, 29. Fabricii = "men like Fabricius." *C. Fabricius*, consul in 282 and 278, censor in 275, was one of the most popular old Roman heroes; his honesty and frugality were proverbial.— *M'.* **Curius** *Dentatus*, another man of the same stamp, consul in 290, 275, and 274, censor in 272, triumphed over the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus.— *Tiberius* **Coruncanius,** consul in 280, contemporary with Fabricius and Dentatus, was the first pontifex maximus of plebeian rank. Cicero often cites these names as examples of virtue in the olden time.

16 **7, 31. Appi Claudi**: *Appius Claudius Caecus* was consul in 307 and 296, censor in 312; while censor he began the *via Appia*, which was so named after him.— **accedebat**: This verb is generally followed by a clause introduced either by *quod* or *ut*. The difference between the two would naturally be that *quod* would introduce a fact, *ut* a result; but the distinction is not generally observed in practice.— **8, 1. pacem cum Pyrrho**: In the year 280 Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, sent Cineas, his minister, to Rome to persuade the Romans to end the war by a peace not very advantageous for them. He would probably have succeeded but for the energetic interference of Appius Claudius, who was carried to the senate-house to deliver his speech.— **8, 2. dubitavit dicere**: When *dubitare* means "to be in doubt" about one's own action, and can be translated by the English "hesitate," it is often followed by the simple infinitive, if the phrase is negative; rarely so if it is affirmative. The reason of the infinitive is that with this particular shade of meaning *non dubito* is very nearly a verb of willing or wishing.— **persecutus**

est, lit. "has followed out," "has portrayed." So § 55 *Possum persequi* etc.; and Ep. ad Fam. XV. 21, 3 *ea, quae scriptura persecutus es.*— **8, 3. Ennius**: The verses are from the sixth book of the Annales.— **8, 4. mentes . . . dementes**: An instance of the figure ὀξύμωρον, like *insaniens sapientia.* — **8, 5. Antehac,** to be taken in two sylllables. — **viai**: An old genitive, depending on *Quo* in the preceding line. — **8, 7. et tamen** at first sight causes difficulty, and *etiam* has been proposed as an emendation; but the reading seems to be certain. It may be explained thus: I need not quote the passage from Ennius at greater length, for you are quite familiar with the poem; "*and yet*" (*et tamen*), even if you are so, we need not rely on that alone, for "Appius' own speech is still extant." Lahmeyer understands it thus: It is true that you find in a poet a good deal of embellishment and exaggeration; "*and yet*" etc.

8, 11. Pyrrhi bello, 281 to 275.— **grandem,** as in 5, 10 *grandem natu.* — **et tamen,** "and nevertheless" (strange as it may seem), **sic . . . accepimus,** "we have it thus handed down from our fathers."

17 **8, 12. Nihil adferunt,** lit. "bring to the argument nothing," οὐδὲν λέγουσιν: what they say has no weight. The opposite is *aliquid*, as 4, 22 *Est istud aliquid.*— **8, 13. similesque sunt ut si** is a very rare turn of expression = *similesque sunt iis qui;* the only similar case is De Div. II. 64, 131 *similes enim sunt dei . . . tamquam si* etc. — **8, 17. faciat . . . faciat**: This is said to be the reading of all the MSS. except one, which has *facit* in the second case. Most of the editions put a stop at *puppi*, reading *non facit* in both cases; a few put a stop at *iuvenes*, reading *at . . . facit;* Meissner brackets all after *puppi.* Our text is not difficult to read; *cum alii scandant . . . cursent . . . exhauriant, ille autem sedeat . . . faciat . . . faciat.*

8, 21. quibus . . . solet, "qualities of which old age, far from being deprived, generally has a larger share." There is a sort of zeugma here; *quibus* with *orbari* is abl. of separation, with *augeri* abl. of means.

18 **8, 22. Nisi forte,** "Unless perhaps," introduces something rather absurd, often with irony, as a sort of alternative to be believed if the preceding proposition is not accepted as true.— **miles** etc.: See Introd. V. — **8, 23. vario genere bellorum,** "various kinds of war" or "wars of various kinds," according to the English idiom; Imp. Pomp. 10, 28 *varia et diversa genera bellorum*

et hostium. — **8, 26. Karthagini**: Müller retains the reading of the best MSS., *et quo modo Karthagini* . . ., *cui male* etc. Probably some word has been lost after *Karthagini;* we have adopted the reading in the text simply for practical use. — **male . . . cogitanti**: So *male facere;* Ep. ad Att. XIV. 13, A 2 *amabiliter . . . cogitare;* Nep. Han. 2 *amice . . . cogitare.* — **8, 27. multo ante denuntio**: Flor. II. 15, 4 *Cato inexpiabili odio delendam esse Carthaginem et cum de alio consuleretur pronuntiabat.* — **de qua vereri**: The regular construction with *vereri* is the accusative; the ablative is rare, and generally denotes the person or thing for whose safety we are concerned; cf. Ep. ad Att. X. 4, 6 *de vita sua metuere.* Here Cato would hardly have been willing to say *quam vereri*, but only *de qua*, "in regard to which."— 8, **28. excisam,** from *excidere.*

19 8, **29. ut avi reliquias persequare,** "that you may complete the task handed down by your grandfather." The victory of the elder Africanus over the Carthaginians at Zama in 202 had broken their power; Scipio of our dialogue completely destroyed the city in 146. Cato is speaking in 150 before the event. See Introd. VIII.— 8, **30. tertius hic et tricesimus annus**: The consulship of Cato was in 195, his censorship 184, the date of the present dialogue 150; so that the *thirty-third* year before would be 183, but would not be the year before the censorship, nor nine years after the consulship, as he says in the next sentence; hence most editions read *sextus* or *quintus* for *tertius* in l. 30, and some read *decem* for *novem* in 9, 1.— **9, 2. iterum,** with *consul.*— **9, 4. enim** (Certainly not) "for" etc.

20 **9, 10. senes,** γέροντες. The γερουσία at Sparta consisted of twenty-eight members, and was presided over by the two kings; they were at least sixty years of age, and were appointed for life.

9, 13. Cedo etc.: The quotation is from Cn. Naevius (b. 237, d. 204), a younger contemporary of Livius Andronicus, the oldest Roman poet; his principal work was a history of the first Punic war in Saturnian verse, but only a few fragments remain of his tragedies and comedies. *Ludus* (l. 14) is probably the title of the play from which the verses are taken; the metre is iambic tetrameter acatalectic. *Cedo*, "Say," "Tell us." The text in l. 14 is suspicious; some of the editions bracket *ut est;* Sommerbrodt reads *illi* instead. — **9, 15. et alia**: See 2, 6 n. *Sed de ceteris.* — **9, 16. Proveniebant**: *provenire* is used of the coming on,

or the growth of plants; then of persons, as Plin. Ep. I. 13, 1 *Magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit;* Sall. Cat. 8, 3 *Provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia.* — **9, 17. florentis aetatis,** a genitive with which in English we must supply a word, "characteristic," or the like.

CHAPTER VII.

21 **9, 19. At** is employed by the writer to introduce a supposed objection for the purpose of answering it; "But, it is said," etc. — **9, 20. tardior,** i. e. in respect to the intellect, *tardioris ingenii.* The apodosis is easily supplied for *exerceas* and *sis.* — **Themistocles**: In De Or. II. 74, 299 Cicero tells of a certain professor of the *ars memoriae, quae tum primum proferebatur,* who proposed to teach the art of remembering everything; Themistocles answered him that he would rather learn how to forget than to remember; *Nam memini etiam, quae nolo, oblivisci non possum, quae volo* (De Fin. II. 32, 104). — **9, 21. perceperat,** lit. "had taken fast hold upon," "knew." Cf. Plut. Them. 5 τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε . . . ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοὔνομα λέγων ἀπὸ στόματος. — **9, 22. qui Aristides esset,** "to salute as Lysimachus the man who was really Aristides;" **Lysimachum** = *ut Lysimachum* or *pro Lysimacho;* he was the father of Aristides. *salutare,* like a verb of naming or calling, takes here two accusatives, *eum* understood and *Lysimachum.*

9, 24. qui sunt: Plaut. Pseud. I. 3, 18 *mortuus est, qui fuit; qui est, vivus est.* — **sepulcra legens,** i. e. reading the inscriptions, which Cato did of course while writing his *Origines.* — **9, 25. quod aiunt,** *ut aiunt,* or *ut dicitur* often accompany a proverbial expression. — **9, 26. in memoriam redeo,** construed with the genitive, like a verb of the same meaning; the English idiom is, "I call the dead back to remembrance."

9, 27. quemquam is used substantively, *senem* being in apposition; "any one, (because he was) an old man." — **quo loco,** "the place in which," a common attraction, as in 6, 6 *quo modo.* — **9, 28. quae curant** = *quae iis curae sunt,* "which they are interested in." — **9, 29. vadimonia constituta**: *vadimonium,* in legal language, was an engagement entered into by the defendant in an adjourned suit to appear on the day appointed for the

resumption of the trial. The common term was *vadimonium promittere*, which of course could only be said of the defendant.

22 **9, 30. Quid,** "What?", a way of vividly calling attention to the next point. *iuris consulti, pontifices* etc. are subjects of *meminerunt;* not *Quid iuris consulti* scil. *faciunt.* **philosophi senes:** As in the preceding sentence, *quemquam senem;* here, philosophers, who are at the same time old men.

10, 1. ingenia: The *ingenium*, the natural endowment, remains to each one of the *senes;* hence the plural. — **studium,** "zeal," "interest," **industria,** "activity." — **10, 2. honoratis,** those who have held the honorable offices, *honores*, in the state. It is opposed to *privata*, as *claris* is to *quieta;* the chiastic arrangement.

10, 3. Sophocles died at the age of about ninety, probably in 406. — **10, 5. a filiis:** The action, δίκη παρανοίας, was brought, according to the common account, by his eldest son Iophon. — **10, 7. nostro more:** The twelve tables provided: *Si furiosus escit* (=erit), *adgnatum gentiliumque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto.* — **bonis** is an ablative of separation.

10, 10. in manibus, "in hand," in course of composition; a different signification from that in 6, 8. — **proxime,** lit. "very nearly," may be used of past or future time; "had very recently written." — **Oedipum Coloneum,** Οἰδίπους ὁ ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ, the last work of Sophocles, so called from the deme Colonos near Athens, where Oedipus finally found rest in the grove of the Erinyes. But it is now generally thought that the play was written in early life, and only revised in later years.

23 **10, 14. Hesiodum,** of Ascra in Boeotia, the oldest Greek poet except Homer. There remain of him the Θεογονία, an epic poem on the origin of the gods, and the Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, a didactic poem on husbandry. **Simonidem,** a famous lyric poet from Ceos, generally called ὁ Κεῖος, b. 556, d. 469. The Persian wars furnished themes for many of his poems. **Stesichorum,** another lyric poet from Himera, about 600. — **10, 15. Isocraten, Gorgian:** See 6, 25 n. In the treatment of Greek proper names the Latin varied very much at different times and in different words. The Greek accusative in *-an* was often used; and the best manuscript authority is in favor of *Gorgian* in this passage, as also for *Isocraten*, and *Xenocraten* l. 17. Cicero, however, generally used the Latin forms. — **10, 16. Pythagoram,** of Samos, born about 580, founder of a school of philosophy at Croto in lower Italy.

Democritum, of Abdera in Thrace, born about 460, founder of the atomistic school. He is said to have lived to the age of one hundred and four years.—**10, 17. Xenocraten,** a disciple of Plato, and teacher in the Old Academy. He died in 315, at the age of eighty-four (Macrob. c. 20).—**Zenonem,** of Citium in Cyprus, b. about 340, founder of the Stoic school. **Cleanthem,** Zeno's pupil and successor.—**10, 18. Diogenem Stoicum,** from Seleucia in Babylonia. He was one of an embassy sent in 155 by the Athenians to Rome to secure a release from a penalty of five hundred talents laid upon them for plundering Oropus on the Boeotian frontier after the war with Perses. See Introd. XII. *Stoicum* is added to distinguish him from the Cynic.—**10, 20. an**: As the first question, *Num* etc., l. 13, was to be answered negatively, this, the alternative, is to be answered affirmatively, *an fuit*, "or was not rather," etc.—**in**: See 47, 10 n. *in altero.*—**agitatio** (*agere*) is the active pursuit of anything.

24 **10, 21. Age** is another formula of transition to a new point in the discourse; "Moreover."—**ut . . . omittamus**: Cf. 3, 21 n. *ut . . . pollicear.*—**possum nominare,** "I might mention;" a form of the so-called *praeteritio*, mentioning a matter for the sake of passing it by. The Latin is *possum*, "I can, I am in a position to, mention," etc.; the English is "I might mention," i. e. if there were time to do so.—**10, 22. agro Sabino,** where Cato had his country-seat.—**10, 24. serendis, percipiendis** etc.: The ablative of the gerundive is often thus used to denote the circumstances accompanying the action of the principal verb; "while the sowing, harvesting, etc., is going on."

10, 25. Quamquam: See 1, 7 n. *quamquam.*—**in aliis,** "in regard to the other operations," i. e. other than that which is to be especially spoken of, namely, the planting of trees, l. 28. See 2, 6 n. *Sed de ceteris.*—**10, 27. qui . . . putet,** i. e. *ut . . . putet*, correlative to *tam senex;* AG. § 319; H. § 500.—**annum,** "one year longer;" the Latin does not add *unus* unless it is needed for emphasis or contrast.—**10, 28. nihil pertinere,** "have no interest."—**10, 30.** *Caecilius* **Statius,** an Insubrian, an older contemporary of Terence, died in 168. He adapted the Συνέφηβοι of Menander for the Roman stage, and wrote many other comedies, some of which were still played in Cicero's time. **noster,** as distinguished from the Greeks mentioned in § 23.

25 **10, 30. dubitat . . . respondere**: See 8, 2 n. *dubitavit dicere.*—**10, 32. haec,** "these things," i. e. whatever belongs to my estate.

CHAPTER VIII.

11, 3. idem, scil. *Caecilius*, nom. sing. masc.; Cato says that the sentiment of the preceding quotation is better than that of the following (*illud*).

11, 4. Edepol etc.: The quotation is from the *Plocium* (πλόκιον), the "necklace;" the metre is the Iambic trimeter. — **quicquam** is substantive, and pleonastic when thus used with *nil*. — **11, 6. videt**: After *diu vivendo*, "by living long," the subject is easily supplied, "one sees."

11, 7. Et at the beginning of a sentence may often be translated like *et quidem*, *et profecto*, "and indeed," as also in l. 2; but this comes from the position of the word; the force was probably conveyed by the tone of voice in reading. **multa,** scil. *videt*.

11, 10. Tum equidem etc.: The quotation is from a play of Statius entitled *Ephesio*. — **senecta** is poetic, and post classical in prose. — **11, 11. eumpse,** "one's self;" the suffix *pse* is common in old Latin, *eampse*, *eopse*, *eapse*, and *reapse* also in Cicero.

26 **11, 17. quam mihi vos**: See 1, 12 n. *quibus me ipsum*. — **Sed videtis** resumes the train of thought after the digression in which Cato criticised the two passages of Caecilius (l. 2 *Et melius*). — **11, 18. ut,** "how," not "that." The accus. c. inf., denoting the object of the perception, is generally used after these verbs; *ut* c. subj. draws attention rather to the manner. — **11, 19. semper agens**: *agat* would have denoted simply the fact; *agens* draws attention to the continuance of the quality, "always doing something."

11, 21. Quid: See 9, 30 n. *qui . . . aliquid*: "What will you say of those who" etc.

11, 22. Solonem: Solon's age at the time of his death is given by some as eighty, by others a hundred, years. — **versibus**: The single verse is found in several authors, among them in Plutarch, Solon c. 31 γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. — **11, 24. qui . . . didici**: See 2, 14 n.; Plut. Cato c. 2 ἄλλως δὲ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς ὀψιμαθὴς γενέσθαι λέγεται. — **11, 25. quidem** is often attached to a pronoun standing near, although it really strengthens some other word; here the emphasis is upon *avide arripui*. De Off. III. 33, 121 *tibique persuade esse te quidem mihi carissimum, sed multo fore cariorem, si talibus monitis praeceptisque laetabere* (in-

stead of *carissimum quidem*). **sic,** not "to such a degree," but "in such a manner," qualifying *avide arripui* taken together, and corresponding to *quasi . . . cupiens.* Cf. 6, 15 *ita cupide fruebar, quasi.*

11, 28. in fidibus, lit. "in the case of the lyre," "on the lyre." —**vellem,** "I should have wished," "I should have been glad," scil. *discere. vellem*, in the past, here corresponds to *velim* in the present; the case differs from that in 13, 21. Vell. 2, 72, 2 *Brutum amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres Crassum.*— **11, 29. fidibus** is an ablative of means, scil. *canere.*

CHAPTER IX.

27 **11, 31. Nec nunc quidem** etc.: *Nec* is not to be taken with *quidem* = *et ne quidem*, but only connects and negatives the sentence; "Nor now indeed do I feel the want of the strength of a young man." In regard to the use of *nec* followed by *quidem* see Kühner, Ausf. Gram. d. Lat. Sp. II. p. 661; Draeger, Hist. Synt. d. Lat. Sp. II. p. 74 with references.—**11, 32. erat,** "was," when we made the division of the subject in § 15.—**locus alter,** "the second point."—**12, 1. tauri,** scil. *vires.*

12, 3. contemptior, "more contemptible." The perf. pass. participles of some verbs are used in the sense of adjectives in *-ilis.*—**12, 4. Milonis** of Croto, a famous athlete, who lived about 580 B.C.

12, 6. At, introducing a passionate expression; "How I should like to join in the sports, *but*" etc.—**12, 7. isti,** scil. *mortui sunt.* Such ellipses are frequent in answers; see above 11, 12 *Iucundum* etc.—**12, 9. lateribus,** as in 7, 13.

12, 9. Sextus Aelius *Paetus* was consul in 198, and famous for his knowledge of law.—**12, 10. Ti. Coruncanius**: See § 16, note. —**12, 11. P.** *Licinius* **Crassus** *Dives* was censor in 212, consul in 205, and noted for his eloquence and legal learning. Some suppose that a later Crassus is alluded to, consul in 171, or that Cicero has confounded the two, because of the word *modo*, "lately." But *modo* is sometimes used of longer periods of time, and its meaning differs according to the connection; here it is opposed to *multis annis ante.*—**12, 13. provecta,** lit. "carried forward," "prolonged."

28 **12, 13. Orator** has the emphatic position.—**12, 14. senectute,** not an ablative of time.—**12, 15. Omnino** has here a concessive

force, corresponding to *sed tamen* below. "It is true" that that sonorous quality of voice comes out more brightly in old age; but yet (*sed tamen*), even if it does not do so, the quiet, conversational manner of an old man is attractive.—**12, 16. splendescit,** of light, applied to sound (*canorum*), is not unusual; Soph. Phil. 189 ἀχὼ τηλεφανὴς πικρὰς οἰμωγὰς ὑποκλαίει. — **12, 18. decorus** is predicate of *senis . . . remissus.* **sermo** is the conversational, as opposed to the oratorical, style. **remissus,** lit. "loosened," "easy," *sine contentione*, without effort. — **12, 19. audientiam,** "a hearing," "attention." — **12, 21. Scipioni et Laelio,** "Scipio and Laelius," i. e. young men like yourselves.

29 **12, 22. An**: See 7, 24 n.—**12, 24. doceat,** of theoretical teaching, **instituat,** of methodical, practical training, **instruat,** of equipping, fitting out with all that is necessary.

12, 26. *Cneius et Publius* **Scipiones,** the former consul in 222, the latter in 218, both fell in fighting against Hasdrubal in Spain in 212; Paradox. I. 2, 12 *qui Carthaginiensium adventum corporibus suis intercludendum putaverunt.* Publius was the father of Africanus Maior.—*Lucius* **Aemilius** *Paulus*, the father of Macedonicus, who was the father of the Scipio of our dialogue, was consul in 219 and 216, and fell at the battle of Cannae; see 31, 17 n. — **12, 27. P. Africanus**: See 8, 29 n. *ut avi reliquias persequare.*

12, 30. Etsi: See 1, 7 n. *quamquam.*—**12, 31. vitiis** with *adulescentiae* denotes "the excesses of youth;" with *senectutis* "the failings and weakness of old age." Cf. 15, 3 *non proprium senectutis vitium, sed commune valetudinis.*

30 **13, 1. Cyrus,** the elder, king of Persia.—**apud Xenophontem,** namely in the Cyrop. VIII. 7, 6.—**13, 2. moriens,** "on his deathbed."—**admodum senex**: De Div. I. 23, 46 *ad septuagesimum (annum) pervenit.*—**13, 5.** *Lucium Caecilium* **Metellum,** consul in 251 and 247, during the first Punic war.—**13, 9. Nihil** is not the object of *dicere*, but is to be taken with *necesse est.*

CHAPTER X.

31 **13, 11. ut**: See 11, 17 n.—**apud Homerum**: Il. I. 260; XI. 668. —**13, 13. tertiam aetatem**: *Aetas* is a generation of men, thirty years.—**13, 15. insolens** (*in-soleo*), exceeding the usual measure, "immoderate."

13, 15. ut ait Homerus: Il. I. 249 Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. — **13, 18. dux ille**, "the famous general," i. e. Agamemnon. — **nusquam**, i. e. in Homer. — **13, 19. quod si sibi acciderit**, "in that case," or, "if he had them." — **13, 20. sit peritura**, "will have to fall," in consequence of this accession of strength; see 3, 27 n. *futurum est.*

32 **13, 21. vellem**, "I should wish," i. e. *si fieri posset;* implying the impossibility in the present. The imperf. subj. *vellem*, *nollem*, *mallem*, may either mean "I should have wished," etc., at some past time, or "I should wish," etc., in the present; in the latter case they express the conclusion with an impossible condition; as Tusc. Disp. I. 11, 23 *Cuperem equidem utrumque, si posset, sed est difficile confundere.* The usage differs from that in 11, 28; see note on that passage. — **13, 22. idem possem gloriari**: *gloriari de aliqua re* is the common phrase; but many verbs, ordinarily construed with a substantive in the gen., dat., or abl., or with a preposition and its case, occasionally take a neuter accusative of a pronoun or numeral instead, vaguely limiting the action of the verb. *idem* is here very much like a cognate accusative; "to make the same boast." *possem* depends on *vellem* with *ut* omitted. — **quod Cyrus**: See l. 3. — **13, 23. quidem**: See 11, 25 n. *quidem.* — **13, 24. miles**: See Introd. V. — **13, 27. M'. Glabrione consule**, in 191 B.C. — **13, 28. curia**: See § 18 fin. — **13, 29. rostra**: Cato is said to have spoken before the people in the last year of his life in behalf of the Lusitanians, his clients, against the treachery they had suffered at the hands of the propraetor Serv. Galba.

13, 31. proverbio, quod monet: The relative clause is superfluous in English, but usual in Latin; Brut. IV. 15 *illud Hesiodium laudatur a doctis, quod eadem mensura reddere iubet, qua acceperis.* The sense of the proverb of course is that one should begin early to take care of his health and strength; Cato makes use of it in the sense of allowing one's self the indulgence and leisure that are permitted to old age.

14, 1. esse . . . essem, "to make an old man of myself, before I really was so." — **14, 3. cui fuerim occupatus**, lit. "for whom I was engaged," whom I declined to receive. The subjunctive in the relative clause, to denote a consequence; "under such circumstances that I declined to receive him."

33 **14, 3. At**: See 9, 19 n. — **14, 4. T. Pontii**, otherwise unknown; compare Veget. 2, 14 *centurio eligendus est, qui sit magnis viribus*

et procera statura. — **14, 6. Moderatio virium,** "a prudent use of one's strength;" cf. 12, 2 *Quod est, eo decet uti et, quicquid agas, agere pro viribus.* Others understand the expression to be equivalent to *moderatae vires,* a moderate amount of strength. — **14, 7. ne,** "surely," preceding a personal or demonstrative pronoun, introduces an apodosis. **non magno desiderio tenebitur,** lit. "will not be held (or influenced) by great regret," "will not greatly feel the want."

14, 9. Milo, mentioned in § 27. — **cum . . . bovem,** "carrying an ox on his back." — **14, 11. utare**: The present subjunctive, second singular, is rarely used in classical Latin to express a command or recommendation unless it be a general one. — **14, 12. ne requiras,** "do not allow yourself to miss it." — **nisi forte**: See 8, 22 n. — **adulescentes pueritiam etc.**: See 8, 4 n. *adulescentiae senectus.*

14, 15. eaque simplex, "and that a simple one," to add another qualification; see 32, 7 *et eam quidem vitam* note. — **14, 17. iam constantis aetatis**: Comp. 31, 29 *constans . . . aetas, quae media dicitur.* — **14, 19. percipi,** "be utilized;" it is the word for "gathering in ripe fruits," etc.

34 **14, 20. Masinissa,** king of Numidia, took the side of the Carthaginians during the early part of the second Punic war, but in 206 he became the ally of the Romans and a firm friend of the elder Scipio (*hospes avitus*). He is said to have been king more than sixty years. — **14, 24. ut capite operto sit,** "to go with his head uncovered," *capite operto,* abl. qual. — **siccitatem corporis,** i. e. in distinction from catarrhs, dropsy, etc.; the nearest English word is "wiriness;" Tusc. Disp. V. 34, 99 *Adde siccitatem quae consequitur hanc continentiam in victu, adde integritatem valetudinis.*

CHAPTER XI.

14, 30. muneribus iis: At the age of sixty a Roman was free from all duties to the state. — **14, 31. non modo . . . ne quidem**: In this form of expression, when the verb is common to both clauses and is expressed in the second, the *non* after modo is frequently omitted.

35 **15, 1. At**: See 9, 19 n. — **15, 2. At** introduces the answer to the preceding objection. — **15, 4. valetudinis**: A *vox media,*

good or bad health according to the connection. — **P. Africani filius**: See Introd. VIII. — **15, 5. is qui,** "he who" etc., to add a characteristic circumstance; *is* should not be taken with *filius*, but only in apposition. — **15, 6. alterum lumen,** "a second light," with reference to Africanus the elder. — **illud** is for *ille*, attracted to the gender of *lumen*. Phil. II. 22, 54 *Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit.*

36 **15, 16. menti atque animo** include all the intellectual powers; *mens* denotes that of reflection, *animus* includes also those of sensation and will. — **15, 17. haec**: Neuter, referring in a general way to *menti atque animo*. — **15, 21. Nam,** in the so-called *occupatio*, anticipating an objection; "For (if you cite to me such expressions as that used by Caecilius, I answer that)" etc. — **Caecilius**: See 10, 30 n. *Statius*. — **comicos,** "in the play." The *stultus senex* was a common character in the comedies. The quotation, which is given at greater length in Lael. § 99, is supposed to be from the Epiclerus (Ἐπίκληρος). — **hos significat,** "by these he means;" *hos* and *credulos* etc. being two accusatives after *significat*. — **15, 22. dissolutos,** not so much in respect to character, as to mind; "negligent," "careless" (*dis-solvo*). **quae vitia**: See 5, 15 n. *quem magistratum*.

37 **15, 28. tantam,** "so large," i. e. as every one knows he really had. — **15, 29. Appius**: See § 16, note. — **et caecus et senex,** emphatically placed at the end, "blind and old at the same time." — **15, 31. languescens,** as in 11, 18 *languida*, of mental vigor. — **15, 32. metuebant** is said of the slaves, **verebantur,** denoting reverential fear, of the children.

38 **16, 2. Ita,** "on this condition," **si,** "if" etc. — **16, 4. emancipata,** strictly used of the emancipation of a son from the *patria potestas*, has also the general meaning of "give up," "surrender." Festus, p. 77 *Emancipati duobus modis intelleguntur, aut ei qui ex patris iure exierunt, aut ei qui aliorum fiunt dominii, quorum utrumque fit emancipatione.* — **16, 5. dominatur,** "retains control." — **16, 9. Originum**: See Introd. VII. — **in manibus,** "in preparation," "in hand," as in 10, 10. — **16, 10. causarum, quascumque defendi,** "of all the cases in which I have appeared." — **16, 13. Pythagoreorumque more**: Among the *χρυσᾶ ἔπη* once attributed to Pythagoras is this passage, v. 40:

μηδ' ὕπνον μαλακοῖσιν ἐπ' ὄμμασι προσδέξασθαι,
πρὶν τῶν ἡμερινῶν ἔργων τρὶς ἕκαστον ἐπελθεῖν·
πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;

16, 15. **Haec**: Nom. plur. fem., in agreement with *exercitationes.* — 16, 16. **curricula,** lit. "the race-courses," "the occupations;" a favorite figure with the Romans. — 16, 18. **Adsum** has the quasi-technical meaning of accompanying a friend who had a case in court. — 16, 21. **lectulus meus,** a sort of sofa used in literary occupation; Plin. Ep. V. 5 *iacere in lectulo suo compositus in habitu studentis, habere ante se scrinium.* — 16, 24. **viventi** is to be taken with *obrepat,* not with *intelligitur* as dative of the agent. — 16, 25. **sensim sine sensu senescit**: The alliteration was not unpleasant to the Roman ear.

CHAPTER XII.

39 16, 27. **tertia vituperatio,** according to the division in § 15. — **quod eam carere dicunt,** for *quod caret, ut dicunt,* or *quod careat,* as in § 15 *tertiam (causam), quod privet,* the subj. indicating the statement or opinion of another person. The confusion of the two constructions is not uncommon in Cicero; and the verb corresponding to *dicunt* in our passage is itself often put in the subjunctive. Ep. ad Fam. VII. 16, 3 *Qui istinc veniunt, superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent te percontantibus respondere;* compare Lael. § 35 fin. *ut . . . diceret sibi videri.* — 16, 29. **aetatis**: The meaning of *aetas,* like that of our "age," varies according to the connection; here it is "old age," in 14, 14 *cursus aetatis,* "age in general," 19, 18 "vigorous age," 20, 22 *bona aetas,* "youth."— **siquidem,** "if really."

16, 30. **enim** introduces an illustration of the preceding proposition. Cf. 3, 32 *Saepe enim* note; 28, 1; 32, 2.—16, 31. **Archytae**: Archytas, a Pythagorean, contemporary of Plato (about 400 B.C.), lived at Tarentum in lower Italy. He was noted as a mathematician, astronomer, statesman, and general; compare Hor. Od. I. 28. — 16, 32. **cum essem adulescens Tarenti,** "when I was at Tarentum as a young man." So below § 42 *cum esset consul in Gallia,* "when he was in Gaul as consul," not "when he was consul in Gaul;" *adulescens* and *consul* are in explanatory apposition. — 17, 1. **cum Q. Maximo**: See 5, 14 *ad Tarentum.*

17, 2. **capitaliorem**: A thing is *capitalis* when it brings danger to life (*caput*), then "destructive" in a general sense; as Lael. § 2 *odium,* De Off. II. 21, 73 *oratio,* I. 13 fin. *iniustitia.* —

17, 3. voluptatis avidae libidines: Below he says *libido voluptatis*, "the lust for pleasure;" here the *libidines* are almost personified as *avidae voluptatis*. — **17, 4. ad potiendum**, scil. *voluptate*.

40 **17, 7. facinus**, a *vox media*, has the epithet *malum;* yet it often has this sense without the addition. — **17, 9. vero**, "indeed," to add something of importance; the other crimes often come from the *libido voluptatis*, these now to be mentioned come from nothing else. — **17, 11. cumque**, "and while on the one hand."

41 **17, 17. tanta . . . quanta posset maxima**: A common form of expression to express the highest possible degree; so 65, 12. — **17, 19. tam diu, dum**: The commoner sequence is *tam diu, quam diu*. — **17, 23. longinquior**, of time, "more prolonged;" so Caes. Bell. Gall. I. 47, 4 *propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa iam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur*. — **17, 24. C. Pontio** *Herennio*, the father of C. Pontius Telesinus, who conquered the Romans at the battle of the Caudine Forks in 321. — **17, 26. Nearchus**, a Pythagorean, from whom Cato learned the doctrines of that school. — **17, 27. in amicitia . . . permanserat**, i. e. during the Carthaginian occupation of Tarentum; see § 10. — **17, 29. Plato Atheniensis**: The last journey of Plato to the west is generally supposed to have been made in 361; and it is hardly possible that he could have been at Tarentum at the time mentioned in the text, 349, the year before his death.

42 **17, 31. hoc**: The singular referring to the whole discourse of Archytas, 16, 31. — **Ut intellegeretis**: The imperfect tense, because it depends on *Quorsus hoc*, scil. *dixi*, and expresses the purpose conceived at the beginning of the *oratio Archytae*. — **18, 3. ut ita dicam** excuses the uncommon use of *oculos* in this phrase; the commoner expression occurs in De Div. I. 29, 61 *praestringere aciem mentis*.

18, 5. feci ut . . . eicerem: The circumlocution, where we should use a simple perfect, *eieci*, is frequent in Cicero, partly to give more prominence to one of the two verbs, and partly perhaps for greater fulness of expression; but the force varies much in different passages. Compare Lael. § 4 *feci ut prodessem* note; Ep. ad Fam. III. 8, 1 *faciendum mihi putavi, ut tuis litteris brevi responderem*. So also *committere ut* etc. — **T. Flaminini**: See § 1, note. — **18, 6. L. Flamininum**, consul in 192. As Cato was censor in 184, Cicero falls into a slight error in writing *septem annis post* etc. — **18, 7. fuisset**: The subjunctive by attrac-

tion to *eicerem*, instead of *fuerat*. — **notandam,** "branded;" *notare* was the technical term for the action of the censor.

18, 8. cum esset consul in Gallia, scil. *Cisalpina;* see 16, 32 n. *cum essem adulescens Tarenti.* Livy, XXXIX. c. 42, says that the victim was a noble of the Boii, who with his family had come to the consul's camp. — **exoratus**: *ex-orare*, not only "to ask," but to accomplish the end of asking, "to prevail upon." — **18, 10. damnati** is here used as an adjective, "those who were in prison, condemned to death;" see 16, 32 n. *essent* is in the subjunctive because of *feriret* preceding.

18, 11. proximus ante me, 189, the censors being chosen at intervals of five years. — **18, 14. quae coniungeret,** "one of such a nature that it joined" etc.; hence the subjunctive. — **imperii** is by some commentators understood of the "office," *imperium*, of the consul; by others of "the authority of the nation," "the empire," as in Lael. § 11 *urbibus inimicissimis huic imperio.*

CHAPTER XIII.

43 **18, 15. audivi**: *audire* is followed in this passage by *ex* and *a;* it may also take *de*. — **porro** means "further on," and this may be towards the past or the future; translate *se porro pueros*, "that they in turn in their boyhood." — **18, 16. mirari** is here not only "to be astonished," but "to express astonishment;" so *optare* below. — **C. Fabricium**: See § 16 note. — **18, 18. Thessalo Cinea**: Cineas was a pupil of Demosthenes, an excellent orator, the favorite minister of king Pyrrhus; see 8, 1 n. — **esse quendam Athenis**: The allusion is to Epicurus (342–270), who at the time when Cineas spoke with Fabricius was still living (*esse*, "that there was" at that time). — **18, 19. omnia . . . referenda,** "that all our actions were to be referred to pleasure," as the standard of right. So in Lael. § 32 he speaks of those *qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt.* Epicurus taught that ἡδονή, *voluptas*, pleasure, was the end of action; but the term is ambiguous. Cicero, in accordance with the popular idea of the doctrine, here uses it of sensual pleasure; Epicurus really held that the end of action is the *highest pleasure*, and that this consisted in an entire freedom from the control of appetites, passions, and outward circum-

stances (ἀταραξία). — **omnia, quae faceremus,** etc., in English we say more commonly "all things that we *do are* to be referred." — **18, 21. M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium**: See 7, 29 n. — **18, 22. Samnitibus,** at that time allies of Pyrrhus.

18, 24. P. Decio: *P. Decius Mus*, in his fourth consulship in 295, commanded the left wing of the Roman army at the battle of Sentinum, and, when his troops began to yield, devoted himself to death and saved the day. His father, of the same name, had done the same thing in the Latin war, at the battle near the Veseris. — **18, 27. qui,** "and they." — **ex eius, quem dico, Deci, facto,** not "from the action of that Decius, whom I am speaking of;" but "from the action of him whom I am speaking of, namely, Decius;" cf. 15, 5 n. *is qui*. — **18, 28. natura,** i. e. *ex sese*, because of its own nature, without reference to anything else as a standard. — **18, 29. sua sponte,** "for its own sake," without regard to external advantages. Cicero uses several phrases for this: De Fin. II. 26, 83 *ut . . . virtutes omnes per se ipsas gratis diligant;* ibid. *amicitiam ipsam sua sponte, vi sua, ex se et propter se expetendam.*

44 **18, 31. Quorsum igitur,** etc., introduces the second *revocatio ad propositum* after the examples cited; see § 42 init. *Quorsus hoc*. — **19, 2. voluptates . . . desiderat**: Stob. Flor. 112 ἡδονῆς ὁ μὲν ἑκὼν εἰργόμενος σοφός· ὁ δὲ μὴ δεόμενος μακάριος. — **Caret . . . caret,** "is deprived of," "is free from." — **19, 3. exstructis,** lit. "heaped up;" so Tusc. Disp. V. 21, 62 *mensae conquisitissimis epulis exstruebantur*. — **19, 4. vinulentia**: The best MSS. of Cicero have nearly always this form, not *vinolentia*. — **insomniis**: See 25, 18 n.

19, 4. si aliquid dandum est, "if *some* (emphatic) concession must be made;" stronger than *si quid*, "if anything." Compare above 4, 22 n. *Est istud quidem aliquid*. — **19, 6. divine** = *praeclare*. — **Plato,** etc.: Tim. p. 69 D ἡδονήν, μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ.

19, 10. C. Duellium, the conqueror in the first naval victory of the Romans at Mylae, on the east coast of Sicily, in 260, in whose honor the *columna rostrata* was erected in the forum. — **19, 11. senem,** "in his old age;" notice the order, *senem saepe videbam puer*. — **19, 12. crebro funali** : Müller and some others have restored an old emendation, and read *cereo funali*. The MSS. in general have *crebro;* L and R have *credo*, V[1] *credo*, V[2] *vel crebro*. Perhaps the emendation was suggested by Val. Max III. c. 4, where he speaks of *funalem cereum;* but Florus (Epitome) says

funalia, and we have restored the old reading. — **19, 13. nullo exemplo,** lit. "by reason of no example," "with no warrant from custom." A general ordinarily enjoyed the honor on the evening of his triumph; Duellius was the first who enjoyed it repeatedly. — **19, 14. quid ego alios,** scil. *commemoro.* So 2, 17 *quid . . . plura.*

45 **19, 15. Primum** corresponds to *quoque* in l. 28. — **Sodalitates** were associations for maintaining the service of some particular deity; they usually celebrated the feasts by banquets. — **19, 16. me quaestore,** in 204. — **sacris . . . acceptis**: At this time, near the end of the second Punic war, in consequence of some unfavorable omens, the image of Cybele (*Magna Mater, Mater Idaea*) was brought from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome, and installed in the temple of *Victoria* on the Palatine. The feast was called ***Megalesia*** (Μεγάλη Μήτηρ), and was celebrated on the fourth of April.

19, 17. igitur resumes the narrative interrupted by the last sentence. — **19, 18. omnino modice,** "moderately, of course," i. e. even then I did not go to any excess, "but still there was a sort of excitement (*quidam fervor*) that came from youth." *aetatis,* "youth," in this connection; see 16, 29 n. *aetatis.* — **19, 21. amicorum** belongs to both ablatives. — **19, 22. accubitionem epularem**: We say "the sitting at table." — **19, 23. haberet,** "involved," "brought with it;" for the tense see 18, 19 n. *omnia, quae faceremus;* **convivium,** *quod tum maxime simul vivitur* (Ep. ad Fam. IX. 24, 3); **compotationem,** *συμπόσιον*; **concenationem,** *σύνδειπνον.*

CHAPTER XIV.

46 **19, 28. tempestivis,** lit. "timely," here "beginning earlier than the usual hour" (2 or 3 P. M.), or continuing late (*ad multam noctem*). — **19, 29. qui pauci admodum restant**: In Latin the adjective, in sense qualifying the antecedent, is sometimes taken into the relative clause and made to agree with the relative. The English here would be: "and not only with the very few men of my own age (*aequalibus*) who remain." The construction is here *not* equivalent to *quorum pauci restant,* "few of whom remain;" the relative clause is Cicero's circumlocution, *qui restant* for *reliquis.* Cf. Lael. 41, 22 *ex multis diebus, quos in*

vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit; and ibid. 46, 7 *eorum, qui pauci nominantur.* — **vestra aetate**: The abstract for the concrete; "persons of your age." — **19, 31. quae . . . auxit . . . sustulit**: The relative clause here contains the reason of the principal clause, but it is stated simply as a *fact*.

20, 1. ne . . . videar: See 22, 15 n. *ut . . . noscatis.* — **20, 2. naturalis,** i. e. permitted or required by nature.

20, 4. magisteria: This is generally supposed to refer to the custom of appointing at a feast a *magister* or *arbiter bibendi* (συμποσίαρχος), who presided over the revels, a custom derived from the Greeks (*Graeco more bibere*). Mr. Reid, however, thinks that the allusion is to the *magister cenarum* appointed annually by each of the *collegia* or *sodalicia* to attend to the club-dinners of that year. The expression *a maioribus instituta* seems to favor this view; on the other hand he says below, *quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo.* — **20, 5. a summo**: The three couches (*triclinia*) at a Roman dinner were placed on three sides of a table, the fourth side being left open for the service; the couches, beginning at the left of the guests, were called *summus, medius,* and *imus.* The three places on each couch were also designated by the same terms. *a summo* means, then, "from the first place" at the left through the guests in order. — **20, 6. in poculo,** "over the wine."— **pocula rorantia,** lit. "cups dropping dew," i. e. slowly drunk; Xen. Symp. II. 26 ἢν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι (*minuta pocula*) πυκνὰ ἐπιψεκάζωσιν (*rorantia*). — **20, 8. quae quidem,** "and *these* enjoyments." — **20, 9. in Sabinis,** "on my estate in the Sabine hills." — **20, 10. vicinorum** is genitive after *compleo,* which is oftener followed by the ablative.

47 **20, 12. titillatio,** Gr. γαργαλισμός: *quasi* ("so to speak," "as it were") excuses the unusual application of the word. — **20, 13. desideratio,** instead of the common *desiderium,* perhaps to correspond with *titillatio.* — **nihil est molestum,** "there is no annoyance in being without."

20, 14. Sophocles, scil. *dixit.* — **20, 15. utereturne** etc., "whether he still indulged in the pleasures of love." **20, 16. Di meliora,** scil. *duint;* Εὐφήμει in Plat. Rep. I. 329 C, where the story is told. — **20, 17. agresti** (*ager*), rough, wild, stronger than *rusticus,* bred in the country, as opposed to *urbanus,* bred in the city; Plat. ἄγριον δεσπότην.

20, 21. hoc non desiderare, lit. "this not regretting;" so De

Orat. II. 6, 24 *meque, cum huc veni, hoc ipsum nihil agere et plane cessare delectat.*

48 20, 22. **bona aetas**: See 16, 29 n. — **20, 25. Turpione Ambivio**: *L. Ambivius Turpio* was a famous actor of Cato's time, and is mentioned as playing in the comedies of Terence. The older usage, which Cicero generally follows, was to write the *cognomen* before the *nomen*, when the *praenomen*, as here, was omitted. — **20, 26. in prima cavea**: The *cavea* was the semicircular part of the theatre devoted to the spectators, the *scaena* that occupied by the actors. *prima cavea*, lit. "the first part of the *cavea*," refers to the lowest seats, those nearest the stage. — **20, 28. propter** (adverb), "near by," "close at hand."

49 **20, 30. illa,** where we should expect *illud quanti est*, referring to the rest of the sentence, *animum . . . vivere.* — **tamquam emeritis stipendiis,** "having served its time, so to speak." — **20, 32. secum esse** etc.: In Tusc. Disp. I. 31, 75, speaking of the life of the philosopher, he says *animum ad se ipsum advocamus, secum esse cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus.*

21, 2. otiosa senectute, "an old age of leisure," particularly one unoccupied with the cares of public life. *otiosus* (*otium*) may mean either "at leisure," or "indolent;" in De Off. III. 1, 1 Cato wrote that the elder Africanus used to say *numquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset.*

21, 3. Mori paene etc.: The text is uncertain; *Mori* and *in studio* are doubtful. V P L^2 omit the former; L^1 omits the latter. We have retained both, and have ventured to emend by placing *paene* after *mori*, which it may qualify, instead of before *caeli et terrae*, where it seems very forced. — **21, 4. C.** *Sulpicium* **Galum,** praetor in 169, distinguished for his knowledge of Greek literature and astronomy. He served as *tribunus militum* (168) in the war with Perses, king of Macedonia, and prevented a panic among the soldiers by predicting an eclipse of the moon. Liv. XLIV. 37, 5. — **21, 5. describere** is the word for mathematical drawing.

50 **21, 8. levioribus studiis,** "lighter studies," as not bearing directly on the business of government. — **21, 9. acutis,** requiring keen powers of mind. — **21, 10. Naevius**: See 9, 13 n.

21, 10. Truculento, Pseudolo, still extant plays of T. Maccius Plautus, the best of the Roman comic writers. He was born at Sarsina in Umbria, was a contemporary of Ennius, and died in

184. Of one hundred and thirty plays which he wrote twenty still remain.

21, 11. senem Livium: *Livius Andronicus* was the first Roman dramatic poet. He was a Greek, native of Tarentum, taken captive in war, brought to Rome, and became the slave of M. Livius Salinator, from whom he received freedom and whose name he assumed. He translated the Odyssey into Saturnian verse. — **21, 12. fabulam docuisset**: *fabulam docere*, διδάσκειν, "to teach a play" (to the actors), was the phrase for "bringing out a play;" the date referred to is 240.

21, 14. P. Licini Crassi: See 12, 11 n.—**21, 15. huius**, i. e. the Scipio now living, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Corculum*. So in 7, 9 *hi consules*, "the present consuls." — **21, 16. his paucis diebus**, lit. "in these (last) few days," "a few days ago."

21, 18. senes, "in their old age." — **M. Cethegum**, consul in 204, died in 196. He was so eloquent that Ennius said of him (Cic. Brut. 15, 58):

is dictust ollis popularibus olim,
qui tum vivebant homines atque aevum agitabant,
flos delibatus populi Suadaeque medulla.

Suada = Πειθώ.

21, 21. epularum voluptates, pleasures derived from banquets etc.; see 1, 13 n. *quarum consolatio*. — **21, 22. comparandae** has here the signification of possibility, because the sentence is virtually negative. — **21, 25. illud**, "the well-known saying;" AG. 102, b; H. § 450, 4; so Lael. § 90 *illud Catonis*. — **21, 26. ut ante dixi**, in 11, 23. — **21, 27. qua voluptate animi**: See 5, 15 n. *quem magistratum*.

CHAPTER XV.

51 **21, 29. voluptates agricolarum**, the second division under the third general head, the first, that of the *voluptas corporis*, having been treated of in the last three chapters. Cicero dwells with particular interest upon this part of the subject from his own love of country life, and from the high estimation in which it was held by all his countrymen. In De Off. I. 42, 151 he says *Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid adquiritur, nihil est agri cultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius;* and Cato himself, De Re Rustica, proem., says *Virum*

cum laudabant (maiores nostri), ita laudabant: Bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. — **21, 31. proxime accedere,** "to come very near to," to be especially congenial or adapted to.

21, 32. Habent rationem, lit. "have relation," "have dealings," "have to do." For the subject of *Habent* most of the commentators understand *illi* referring to *agricolarum*, taking the phrase *habere rationem* in the sense of "a business account" corresponding to *sine usura reddit*, *quod accepit* etc. But *impediuntur* l. 30, *videntur* l. 31, are said of *voluptates*, and a change of subject at *Habent* would be very abrupt. It seems better to take *Habent* as referring to *voluptates*, which "have to do with the earth;" and this is easy, because it *numquam recusat imperium*, and profitable, because *numquam sine usura reddit* etc.; and for these reasons the pleasures seem *ad sapientis vitam proxime accedere.* — **22, 1. recusat imperium** is not an uncommon figure; Verg. Georg. I. 99 *Exercetque frequens tellurem atque imperat arvis.*

22, 4. vis ac natura is a phrase often used by Cicero to denote the whole force and essence of anything.

22, 5. Quae cum: "For when she," etc.; see 4, 7 n. *Qui.* — **gremio** is an ablativus instrumentalis; in English, "*in* her lap," etc. — **22, 6. occatio,** "harrowing," has no etymological relation with *occaecare*, but is the verbal noun of *occare.* It is here subject of *nominata est*, which means strictly "has been given as a name." So Lael. 48, 7 *amor ex quo amicitia nominata est;* and often *dicere;* Tusc. Disp. I. 9, 18 *cor . . . ex quo excordes . . . dicuntur.* — **22, 8. diffundit,** "causes to expand." — **herbescentem viriditatem,** lit. "the greenness growing into an herb," "the green stem." — **22, 9. stirpium,** "the roots." — **22, 12. spici** depends on *ordine*, "arranged in the regular form of a spike." It is from nom. *spicum; spica* and *spicus* are also found.

52 **22, 15. ut . . . noscatis** depends on something understood, "which I mention," or the like. The ellipsis is common; compare 20, 1 *ne . . . voluptati;* 23, 25 *ne . . . vindicare.* — **22, 17. quae procreet,** "such that it brings forth," etc. — **tantulo grano,** "so little a seed," that is, as it really is; the omission is common in English.

22, 20. Malleoli were slips cut so as to take a little of the stalk above and below from which they sprang, and thus to resemble somewhat "a little mallet" (*malleus*); **plantae,** "saplings;" **sarmenta,** "cuttings," or twigs of a size suitable for cutting; **viviradices,** "cuttings, or layers that have taken root." Colu-

mella III. 14 *Sationis autem duo sunt genera, malleoli vel viviradicis, quod utrumque ab agricolis usurpatur, et in provinciis magis malleoli. Neque enim seminariis student, nec usum habent faciendae viviradicis.* Cf. Plin. H. N. XVII. 23 (35), § 214. **22, 21. propagines,** "layers," i. e. where a twig of the parent stock is bent to the ground, fastened, and allowed to take root there. **nonne efficiunt ut . . . delectent,** "do they not certainly fill any one with delight and wonder?" cf. 18, 5 n. *feci ut* etc. — **22, 27. ne silvescat sarmentis,** "lest it run to wood."

53 **22, 29. ea, quae gemma dicitur** for *id quod gemma dicitur* (the pronouns, as usual, attracted to the case of *gemma*), "the so-called gem." The ancients erroneously considered the use of the word "*gemma*" to denote "a precious stone" as the original use; hence Cicero qualifies it in the text when he transfers it to the bud of a plant.

23, 5. capitum iugatio, "the joining of the heads of the poles" (*adminicula*); **religatio,** "the binding" on the trellis formed by the *adminicula;* **propagatio** is taken by Tischer and nearly all the commentators after him to denote the "*stretching*" of the vinestocks (das Weiterziehen der Weinstöcke). But after they are made fast to the trellis why should they be stretched? *propagare* is to lay down the vine branch with two or three nodes in the earth so as to take root; *propagatio,* "the cultivation by layers." See Pliny, H. N. XVII. 13 (21), § 96, 97. — **23, 7. quam dixi,** "above-mentioned," namely, in 22, 26. — **inmissio** is explained by nearly all the commentators as the opposite of *amputatio,* "allowing to grow," citing Varro, R. R. I. 31, 3 *ea vitis immittitur ad uvas pariendas,* and Pliny, H. N. XVI. 33 (60), § 141. But this seems to be a secondary meaning. A part of the shoots are tied to the trellis (*religare* for *alligare*), and a part are "*intertwined*" (*inmittere*), and so allowed to grow. Cf. Liv. XL. 22, 3 *pervenere in tam opacum iter, ut prae densitate arborum inmissorumque aliorum in alios ramorum perspici caelum vix posset;* ibid. XXXIII. 5, 11 *et adeo acuti aliusque per alium inmissi radii locum ad inserendum manum non relinquunt* etc. — **23, 8. repastinationes,** digging about with the *pastinum* (*ferramentum bifurcum, quo semina panguntur*).

54 **23, 10. in eo libro,** i. e. the book De Re Rustica. — **23, 11. doctus,** like σοφός, is often used of poets as well as of philosophers; Tusc. Disp. I. 1, 3 *cum apud Graecos antiquissimum e doctis genus sit poetarum.* — **Hesiodus,** i. e. in the Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι. See 10, 14 n.

— **23, 12. ne verbum quidem,** "not a single word;" *unum* is generally not expressed.

23, 14. lenientem, "trying to assuage," the participle denoting the attempted action; so 6, 2 *dividenti.* — **23, 15. colentem**: The participle to denote the means of an action, here of *lenientem.* — **23, 16. facit,** "represents;" so 2, 12 *facimus.* The passage referred to is Od. XXIV. 226 τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐν ἀλωῇ Λιστρεύοντα φυτόν. Homer mentions only λιστρεύειν, the digging around the plants.

23, 19. consitiones, the various sorts of planting; **insitiones,** "grafting;" cf. Ovid. Metam. XIV. 630 *fissa modo cortice virgam Inserit, et succos alieno praestat alumno;* cf. Verg. Georg. II. 78.

CHAPTER XVI.

55 **23, 21. Possum**: In English we use the conditional; "I might" (if time permitted); AG. 264 b. The Latin also frequently uses the subjunctive *possim,* and sometimes *possem,* when the idea of possibility is not prominent. — **23, 24. provectus sum,** lit. "I was carried forward," "I was carried away;" the word is used of travelling by land or sea; cf. 51, 10 *vela orationis contrahere.* — **23, 25. ne . . . vindicare**: See 22, 15 n. *ut . . . noscatis.* — **23, 26. M'. Curius**: See 7, 29 n.

23, 28. Cuius = *Et eius;* see 4, 7 n. *Qui.* — **23, 29. a me,** i. e. from my villa. — **23, 30. continentiam** (*con-teneo*), "self-restraint," "moderation;" De Inv. II. 54, 164 *Continentia est, per quam cupiditas consilii gubernatione regitur.*

23, 32. sedenti: The participles in Latin are used much more generally than in English, and take the place of dependent sentences of various sorts; they may express the time, cause, a condition, or a concession with regard to the verb of the sentence in which they stand. *sedenti,* "as he was sitting;" cf. 23, 15 *colentem.*

56 **24, 4. Sed**: The *revocatio,* return to the subject after the digression. — **ne . . . recedam**: See 3, 21 n. *ut . . . pollicear.* — **24, 6. aranti** is the emphatic word of the sentence, and so is placed first; he was *ploughing* when the announcement was made to him. — *Lucio* **Quinctio Cincinnato,** dictator in 458 and 439 B.C. He was chosen the first time to rescue the consul

L. Minucius Augurinus, who was hard pressed by the Aequians; it was in his second term, however, that the death of Maelius took place, which Cato goes on to relate.—**24, 7. cuius dictatoris iussu,** "and by his order, as dictator;" *dictatoris* is in apposition.

24, 8. S*purium* **Maelium,** a rich plebeian, who during a famine distributed grain among the people and acquired great popularity; he was therefore suspected of aiming at royal authority (*regnum adpetere*). When summoned to appear before the dictator he did not obey, and was killed by Ahala, the *magister equitum*. — **24, 9. occupatum**: *aliquem occupare* is "to anticipate," "to get the start of," any one; here we may translate "before he had an opportunity to act."

24, 11. viatores were messengers of the magistrates for the service of summons and for arrests; Cicero suggests here the derivation of the name from *via*, "the road," which they travelled in the execution of their duty.

24, 12. miserabilis (*miserari*), "worthy of pity." — **agri cultione** is a rare expression, occurring perhaps in only one other passage in good Latin; Verr. II. 3, 97, 226 *Quid est enim Sicilia, si ei agri cultionem sustuleris?* It seems to be used in the same sense as *agri cultura*.

24, 13. haud scio an, "I am inclined to think." The phrases *haud scio an*, *nescio an*, expressed only uncertainty in earlier Latin, "I do not know whether," etc.; but in Cicero and after him they are generally used to soften an assertion =*fortasse*, "I am inclined to think," or the like. — **24, 14. officio** is here opposed to *delectatione*. Cato is speaking of the happiness of such an old age "not only as regards one's duty" (*non solum officio*), because the human race is benefited by the culture of the fields, but also as regards the pleasure one has and the full abundance, etc. (*saturitate copiaque*). — **24, 17. quae . . . pertinent,** i. e. the fruits of the field and the beasts offered in sacrifice to the gods. — **24, 22. porco** etc.: The singular in a generic sense, animals of that sort.

24, 23. Iam, "Moreover;" to add another particular. — **succidiam alteram,** "a second flitch of bacon;" to express how necessary the garden was. So Varro, De Re Rust. III. 4 *Quis fundum colit, quin sues habeat et qui non audierit patres nostros dicere, ignavum et sumptuosum esse, qui succidiam in carnario suspenderit potius ab lanario* (the butcher) *quam ex domestico fundo?* i. e. that the bacon should be raised at home.

24, 24. Supervacaneis operis, "by the use of spare time," lit. "by means of toils that are left over." Dr. Reid. The older editions read *supervacanei operis*, the genitive describing *aucupium atque venatio;* the position of *etiam* favors this somewhat; but neither reading is quite satisfactory.

58 **25, 1. Sibi habeant,** "Let them keep for themselves," that is, the young people. So Lael. 44, 10 *sibi habeant sapientiae nomen;* and the formula of divorce was: *res tuas tibi habe.*—**25, 2. clavam,** a sort of wooden sword used for exercising, "a foil;" Veget. De Re Milit. *Clavas ligneas pro gladiis tironibus dabant, eoque modo exercebantur ad palos.* — **25, 4. talos**: *tali*, ἀστράγαλοι, were dice having two sides round and four sides plane; four of these made a set. *Tesserae* were dice like our own; a set consisted of three. — **id ipsum utrum lubebit,** lit. "even that, which of the two it shall please them," "but even in that they may do as they please," i. e. they may leave them or not. *id ipsum utrum* is not the same as *eorum ipsorum utrum*, whichever of the two, the *tali* or the *tesserae*, as the passage is sometimes explained. *utrum* is used for *utrumcumque*, as in Ep. ad Att. I. 11, 1 *sed haec aut sanabuntur, cum veneris; aut ei molesta erunt, in utro culpa erit. utcumque* is an emendation of Nauck for *utrum*. For *id ipsum utrum* cf. Ep. ad Att. VIII. 12, C 3 *id quod neutrum nobis hoc tempore contigit.* The *alea*, dice-playing, was not considered quite honorable at Rome, and was even forbidden by law at different times; but old people enjoyed some indulgence in this respect; Suet. Div. Aug. 71 *Inter cenam lusimus* γεροντικῶς *. . . talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem* (when all the dice showed the same number, the worst throw) *aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem* (the lucky throw) *iecerat.*

CHAPTER XVII.

59 **25, 7. ut facitis**: Tusc. Disp. II. 26, 62 *semper Africanus Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat.*

25, 8. qui est de: So Tusc. Disp. I. 11, 24 *librum, qui est de animo.* Sometimes we find *liber qui est scriptus de*, sometimes *liber de* etc. **qui est . . . qui inscribitur**: Two co-ordinate relative clauses without connective are unusual.

25, 9. ut intellegatis: See 22, 15 n. *ut . . . noscatis.* — **25, 10. regale,** worthy of a king, kingly, *regium*, belonging to a king;

but the difference is sometimes disregarded. — **25, 11. loquitur,** "discourses;" *dicit,* "says" something; the use of the acc. c. inf. after *loqui* is conversational. The passage is quoted from Xen. Oec. IV. 20-25; Cicero had written a translation of this work in his youth. — **25, 12. Cyrum minorem,** the son of Darius II.; with the help of the Greeks he attempted to gain the throne from his brother, Artaxerxes II. Mnemon, but was killed at the battle of Cunaxa, 401 B.C. — **regem**: As Cyrus never was king, *rex* is here only "prince," as in Verr. IV. 27, 61 *Reges Syriae, regis Antiochi filios;* so *βασιλεύς* in Xen. Oec. IV. 16. — **25, 13. Lysander,** the famous Spàrtan general, victor at Αἰγὸς ποταμοί in 405. — **25, 17. consaeptum agrum** = *παράδεισον* in Xen.; *consitum* is added without connective.

25, 18. proceritates arborum, i. e. the quality *proceritas* as manifested in the several trees. So the plural of abstract nouns is often used to denote particular kinds, instances, manifestations, portions of that which they denote. — **25, 19. derectos,** not *directos,* the idea being, not separated, but laid out in straight lines. **in quincuncem,** "in the five form," like the numeral V, or like the spots on the five of dice, :·: Probably the latter is the correct explanation; or, rather, three points taken together from two adjoining lines form the numeral V, or five taken from three adjoining lines in the order two, one, two, make the five, :·: See Quint. VIII. 3, 9 *quid illo quincunce speciosius, qui in quamcumque partem spectaveris, rectus est?* — **25, 23. dimensa,** used passively; see 2, 32 n. *adeptam;* 3, 14 n. *discripta.* — **25, 24. Atqui,** "And yet," is often used in answers containing something unexpected. — **mei** stands first for emphasis.

25, 28. multo auro: Abl. of quality. — **25, 29. Rite** etc.: Xen. Oec. IV. 25 *δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν εὐδαιμονεῖς.*

60 **25, 31. impedit,** "hinders us;" the Latin omits the pronoun when *quo minus* with its clause follows.

26, 1. M. Valerium Corvinum, distinguished for his victory in a single combat in the war against the Gauls, 349, when a raven (*corvus,* hence *Corvinus*) is said to have alighted on his helmet and helped him in the fight. Liv. VII. 25. 26. He was consul for the first time in 348, for the sixth time in 299, and twice dictator. His most brilliant victories were gained in his third consulship, 343, over the Samnites at Mount Gaurus and at Suessula. — **26, 3. perduxisse,** scil. *agri colendi studia.* — **acta**

iam aetate (ablative absolute), "after the best years of his life were already past." — **26, 5. sex et quadraginta,** or, more exactly, forty-nine years (348 to 299).—**26, 6. senectutis initium,** i. e. the forty-sixth year.—**26, 7. esse voluerunt,** "counted;" a common word in speaking of legal enactments; the formula in proposing a measure to the people was: *Velitis iubeatis* etc.—**26, 8. huius**: Dr. Reid notices the unusual reference to the same person in the same sentence by *hic* and *ille* (*illi*, l. 7).—**26, 9. apex,** primarily "the extreme end of a thing;" then in various significations, among others "the highest ornament," "the crown." Compare Ammian. Marc. XXVII. 7, 2 *Cui ideo Vulcatius successit Rufinus, omni ex parte perfectus et velut apicem senectutis honoratae praetendens.*

61 **26, 10. L. Caecilio Metello**: See 13, 5 n.—**26, 11. A. Atilio Calatino,** consul in the second Punic war in 258 and 254, dictator in 249. His tomb was near the Porta Capena on the Via Appia.—**26, 12. elogium,** a Latin word transformed in popular usage from the Greek ἐλεγεῖον, denotes, as in 30, 27, "a short saying," "epigram," or as here "an inscription" (*carmen incisum in sepulcro* l. 13); it never has in classical Latin the meaning of the French *éloge*, eulogy. The same inscription is quoted in De Fin. II. 35, 116 *Non elogia monimentorum id significant, velut hoc ad portam* etc. Ritschl has thus completed the inscription by comparison with others still extant: *Dictator,* | *Consul, censor, aedilis, hic fuit apud nos.* The metre was the old Saturnian.—**26, 13. populi** depends on *primarium virum.*

26, 14. cuius . . . esset fama: The subjunctive of characteristic.

26, 16. P. Crassum: See 12, 11 n.—**26, 17. M. *Aemilium* Lepidum,** pontifex maximus in 180, censor in 179.—**26, 21. honorata**: See 10, 2 n. *honoratis.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

62 **26, 22. in omni oratione,** in every part of, throughout, my discourse.

26, 27. defenderet: The tense is determined by the perfect *dixi.* In English we may translate: "which defends itself." See 18, 19 n. *omnia, quae faceremus.*—**cani,** scil. *capilli;* the usage is chiefly poetical.

63 **26, 30. honorabilia**: The only instance of the word in good Latin. — **26, 31. decedi,** "to be made way for;" in the active the phrase is *decedere alicui de via* or *via*. **adsurgi,** lit. "to be risen to," "to receive the honor shown by rising." **deduci, reduci,** "to be escorted in going from, and in returning, home." Val. Max. II. 1, 9 *Iuvenes senatus die utique aliquem ex patribus conscriptis ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis expectabant, donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur.* — **26, 32. consuli,** "to be consulted," i. e. in matters of law.

26, 32. ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur, "are more carefully observed, as the states are more civilized." This is a common form of expression to denote the parallelism of two actions or qualities, when the subject is indefinite (*quaeque*). The form is often varied; instead of two superlatives, as in our passage, words having an equivalent force are found, as in 27, 15 *ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet;* or a comparative may stand for a superlative, as in Lael. 44, 21 *ut inter omnes esset societas quaedam, maior autem, ut quisque proxume accederet;* or the two superlatives may stand in the same clause, as in 34, 24 *quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur;* so also 34, 22, Lael. 42, 9 and 42, 17.

27, 2. Lysandrum: See 25, 13 n. — **27, 5. tantum tribuitur aetati,** i. e. not only to *old* age in general, but by any young person to one who was *older*. Compare Arist. Pol. VII. 13, 3 *ἀγανακτεῖ δὲ οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀρχόμενος . . . ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλων ἀντιλαμβάνειν τοῦτον τὸν ἔρανον, ὅταν τύχῃ τῆς ἱκνουμένης ἡλικίας.*

27, 7. ludis: Ablative of time. — **magno consessu**: Ablative absolute; in English, "in the great assembly." — **27, 9. legati cum essent,** "because they were ambassadors." — **27, 11. sessum**: The supine after *recepisse*, as if it were a verb of motion; they desired him to come to them.

64 **27, 12. dixisse**: The construction, which was changed at l. 10 *omnes dicuntur*, is here resumed; *dixisse* is co-ordinate with *locum datum* (*esse*) (l. 8), and both depend on *memoriae proditum est* (l. 6).

27, 15. ut quisque . . . tenet: See 26, 32 n. *ut quaeque optime morata est; antecedit* and *principatum* correspond to the two superlatives after *quisque* and *ita.*

27, 17. honore antecedentibus, "those who outrank them in official position," whether past or present. — **sed iis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt,** "but even those who have the *imperium*," i. e. the highest officials, such as the consuls or praetors, who by

virtue of a *lex curiata* were invested with the *imperium*, the highest military command with the right of taking auspices and judicial authority.

27, 21. fabulam aetatis: For the comparison see 3, 14. 29, 18. 36, 3. Suetonius relates that Augustus (c. 99) asked his friends on his deathbed *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse;* cf. Sen. Ep. 77 fin. *Quo modo fabula, sic vita non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit, refert.* — **27, 22. inexercitati,** not *mali* ("bad actors"), but "unprepared," "unpractised," those who have not properly studied their parts.

65 **27, 24. Si quaerimus**: So very often in the second person, *si quaeris;* more fully Ep. ad Fam. XII. 8, 1 *si verum quaeris;* Pro Rab. Post. 8, 22 *si verum quaerimus.*

27, 26. illius quidem: When two qualifications are joined to an object (*excusationis*), the first of which is conceded (*non iustae quidem*), and the second contrasted with it and made more prominent (*sed quae . . . videatur*), a pronoun with *quidem* is added to the first; in English these are either untranslated, or are rendered by "of course," "it is true." In the third person the usual pronoun is *ille*, more rarely *is*. Tusc. Disp. I. 3, 6 *optimis illis quidem viris, sed non satis eruditis;* so two clauses are contrasted; De Off. III. 17, 71 *ea malitia, quae volt illa quidem videri se esse prudentiam, sed abest ab ea distatque plurimum.* — **27, 27. iustae,** one which affords a complete justification; **quae . . . videatur,** one which *can* be accepted. — **contemni,** "are slighted."

27, 32. Adelphis, one of the six comedies of Terence (b. 193, d. 159), an intimate friend of Scipio and Laelius. See Introd. XII. — **diritas** = *intolerabilis acerbitas ac tristitia.*

28, 1. Sic se res habet, "The matter stands thus;" *sic* = as follows. *enim* introduces the explanation; see 3, 32 n. *Saepe enim.* — **28, 2. natura,** "character," "disposition."

66 **28, 5. quid sibi velit,** "what is the object of," "what is the meaning of?"

CHAPTER XIX.

28, 8. Quarta restat causa: See § 15. — **28, 9. sollicitam habere** expresses the duration of the condition, "to keep in anxiety;" so Ep. ad Fam. XIV. 7, 1 *Omnes molestias et sollicitudines, quibus et te miserrimam habui et Tulliolam . . . deposui et eieci.*

28, 11. qui . . . viderit: The subjunctive of characteristic.—**quae,** continuing the discourse, and also introducing the reason.—**28, 14. sit futurus,** "is destined to be;" see 3, 27 n. *gratum futurum est.*—**28, 15. tertium nihil**: No third hypothesis is possible for the *honeste acta superior aetas;* but Cat. IV. 4, 8 *apud inferos eius modi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt.*

67 **28, 18. exploratum,** investigated, known, "certain;" Ep. ad Fam. II. 16, 6 *mihi exploratum est ita esse, ut tu scribis.*—**28, 19. ad vesperum**: With *ad, ante, in,* and *sub* this is the common form at all times; Cicero has only twice *ad vesperam;* Cat. II. 4, 6; Phil. XI. 31, 77.

28, 20. casus mortis, "chances of death."—**28, 22. tristius curantur,** lit. "are cured with more annoyance," i. e. with greater difficulty; the effect for the cause.—**28, 23. melius . . . viveretur,** i. e. there would be more wisdom in the world, because there would be more old men.—**28, 25. nullae . . . fuissent**: Cf. § 20.—**28, 26. Quod . . . senectutis,** "What sort of accusation against old age is that," etc.

68 **28, 28. in optimo filio,** "*in the case of* my most excellent son." See 7, 28 n. *filii mei.*—**28, 29. fratribus**: L. Aemilius Paulus, the father of Scipio Africanus the younger, lost his two younger sons, twelve and fourteen years old, the one five days before, the other three days after his triumph over Perses, B.C. 167.—**28, 31. At,** as in 9, 19, to introduce a supposed objection.—**28, 32. idem,** to be taken with *quod.*

29, 3. At here introduces the answer to the supposed objection.—**29, 4. ille, hic**: The general rule is that *hic* refers to the nearer object, *ille* to the more remote, *hic* to the last-mentioned of two objects; the violation of the rule is only apparent in our passage, because *senex,* being the subject of this and the preceding sentence, is more distinctly in mind. Cf. Lael. 40, 19.

69 **29, 7. Tartessiorum,** a people living on the southern coast of Spain.—**29, 8. ut scriptum video,** in Herod. I. 163.—**29, 9. sed** resumes the discourse after the interruption of the words in parenthesis.—**29, 12. illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit,** "what is past is gone forever;" so De Fin. II. 32, 104 *Iam illud quale tandem est, bona praeterita non effluere sapienti?*

70 **29, 19. Plaudite**: The plays closed with this request to the spectators; so that *usque ad "Plaudite"* means "to the very end." There is an apparent contradiction here with the last

sentence in § 64; but Cato is there speaking of one who because of his past life is not able to perform his part in old age; here of one who dies early, and can only do his duty while opportunity is given him.—**29, 21. processerit,** scil. *aetate:* The subject (*sapiens*) is probably to be supplied from the connection; others supply *aetas.*—**29, 23. verni temporis suavitate,** "the pleasant spring-time;" but the Latin emphasizes the quality *suavis*, expressing it by a substantive.—**29, 25. significat** (*signum*), "is a type of."

71 **29, 28. memoria et copia**: The idea is: The recollection of *the many* good things obtained before; but to emphasize "the many" a substantive is used, *copia;* compare this with *verni temporis suavitate* just mentioned.—**29, 29. secundum naturam,** κατὰ φύσιν, "according to (in the ordinary course of) nature;" see 3, 12 n. *naturam optumam ducem.*—**sunt habenda in bonis:** So Tusc. Disp. I. 49, 118 *nihil in malis ducamus, quod sit vel a diis inmortalibus vel a natura parente omnium constitutum.*

29, 31. quod idem contingit, "but the same thing happens;" see 4, 7 n. *Qui: contingere* is not always used of fortunate occurrences.

30, 1. sic . . . ut cum for *sic . . . ut* is an inaccuracy not uncommon in English.—**30, 3. sua sponte,** defined by *nulla adhibita vi*, qualifies *consumptus.*—**30, 4. quasi** = *quem ad modum* is archaic. So Plaut. Aulul. IV. 1, 6 *qui amanti hero servitutem servit, quasi ego servio.*—**30, 5. matura et cocta,** scil. *solis ardore*, a pleonasm, "ripened by the sun."—**30, 8. videre videar,** scil. *mihi*, which is sometimes omitted. **aliquando,** "at length;" as in Lael. § 100 *concludamus aliquando.* So occasionally with *tandem;* Cat. II. 1, 1 *tandem aliquando L. Catilinam ex urbe eiecimus.* The same comparison of death to a harbor of refuge occurs in Tusc. Disp. I. 49, 119; (*mortem*) *portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus.*

CHAPTER XX.

72 **30, 10. nullus est certus terminus**: One of the old commentators, Graevius (1632–1703), mentioning the different limits assigned to human life, says: *Quin et hac nostra memoria insularum Americanarum incolae, qui ad legitimam senectutem perveniunt, sunt annorum centum et quinquaginta, quod spatium egre-*

diuntur ii, qui decrepitam ad senectutem processerunt. — **30, 11. munus officii,** "the function (of duty) which duty imposes on us."

30, 14. Hoc illud . . . responsum est, "This is the point of the famous answer of Solon to Pisistratus." — **30, 15. tandem** expresses a little impatience, as in the opening of the first speech against Catiline, *Quousque tandem* etc. — **30, 16. audaciter,** an older and rarer form for *audacter;* Quintilian, Inst. Orat. I. 6, 17, speaks of the *molestissima diligentiae perversitas* of persons who made use of it, *licet omnes oratores aliud sequantur.*

30, 18. certis, "reliable," "trustworthy," ablative absolute with *sensibus.* Dr. Reid quotes Acad. II. 7, 19 *integris incorruptisque sensibus.* — **ipsa suum eadem**: Notice the three pronouns used to bring the subject *natura* into greater prominence; without them the emphasis would be upon *integra mente certisque sensibus.* — **30, 19. coagmentavit**: This word and *conglutinare* (below l. 21) are favorite words with Cicero.

30, 22. Iam, "*Now,*" introducing a step in the argument. — **30, 24. reliquum,** nom. sing. neut., is here a substantive, and even takes a genitive; the usage is rare in classical writers. Cicero has *ad summum, in medio esse, a primo.* Compare Lael.
73 42, 15 n. *cuius disputationis fuit extremum.* — **30, 25. iniussu imperatoris**: De Rep. VI. 15, 15 *retinendus animus est in custodia corporis nec iniussu eius, a quo ille est vobis datus, ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse videamini.*

30, 27. elogium: See 26, 12 n. The distich is given in Plutarch, comp. Sol. c. Poplic. c. 1:

> Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
> Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

Cicero translates it in Tusc. Disp. I. 49, 117 thus:

> *Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis*
> *Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.*

30, 29. Volt se esse carum: The accusative with the infinitive after the *verba voluntatis,* when the accusative denotes the same person as the leading verb, is not very common; the infinitive is (according to Madvig) generally *esse* or a passive. Usually the subject of the infinitive is to be made prominent, as in Nep. XXV. 20, 5 *obtrectatio intercedebat . . . inter Caesarem et Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romae, sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet;* or, as in our passage, the person denoted by the leading subject thinks of himself objectively: Solon alive wishes himself

when dead to be dear to his friends. — **haud scio an,** "I am inclined to think;" see 24, 13 n. — **30, 30. Ennius,** scil. *dixerit.* — **30, 32. Faxit,** an old form for *fecerit.*

74 **31, 4. aut optandus aut nullus est**: The sense is: There either is consciousness after death, or there is not (*nullus* = a strong *non*); in the first case it is to be desired, in the second we need not trouble ourselves about the matter. Cf. 28, 12. — **31, 5. hoc** is defined by or points forward to *mortem ut neglegamus.* — **meditatum**: For the passive use see 2, 32 n. *adeptam.* — **31, 6. sine qua meditatione,** "a meditation, without which."

31, 8. incertum an, "perhaps;" but here without the tendency to affirmation spoken of in 24, 13 n. — **31, 9. timens** = *is, qui timet.* The nom. sing. of participles is very rarely thus used substantively, especially in Cicero; the other cases much more frequently.

(75) **31, 11. L.** *Iunium* **Brutum,** one of the first two consuls, who took a prominent part in the expulsion of the kings, and fell in battle, fighting against Aruns, the son of Tarquinius (*in liberanda patria*). — **31, 12. duos Decios**: See 18, 24 n. — **31, 13. M. Atilium** *Regulum*, who was taken prisoner in the first Punic war, and was sent to Rome to treat for an exchange of prisoners under a promise that he would return in case of the failure of his mission. He himself advised the Romans not to accept the proposals and returned to Carthage (*ad supplicium est profectus*) as he had promised. The story of his death by torture is generally considered to be fabulous. De Off. I. 13, 39. Cicero often cites his example. — **31, 15. duos Scipiones**: See 12, 26 n. — **31, 17. L. Paulum**: See 12, 26 n. He fell at the battle of Cannae, bravely fighting, whereas his colleague Varro, who had rashly insisted on giving battle (*collegae temeritatem*), escaped by flight. — **31, 18. M.** *Claudium* **Marcellum,** the conqueror of Syracuse in 212. In his fifth consulship (208) he fell into an ambush and was killed; but Hannibal gave him an honorable burial. — **31, 19. crudelissimus hostis** is said in the spirit in which the Romans always spoke of Hannibal, as their bitterest enemy; so Hor. Carm. II. 12, 2 *dirus Hannibal;* Liv. XXI. 4, 9 *inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio.* — **31, 21. Originibus**: See Introd. VII.

(75 in margin at line "da patria")

31, 24. indocti, i. e. without liberal education; **rustici,** as opposed to *urbani*, without the culture found in a city.

76 **31, 25. Omnino,** "In general." — **31, 27. pueritiae**: For the periods of life see 3, 4 n. *adulescentiae senectus.* — **31, 30. ne ea quidem**: *ne . . . quidem* is not always to be translated by "not . . . even," which often gives too much emphasis to the word enclosed; here we may translate: "no more are those interests sought in old age." So Tusc. Disp. I. 8, 16 *quoniam post mortem mali nihil est, ne mors quidem est malum,* "no more is death an evil." — **32, 1. etiam senectutis,** Eng. "also *those* of old age." So 19, 32 *potionis et cibi.*

CHAPTER XXI.

77 **32, 2. enim**: See 3, 32 n.; 16, 30; 28, 1. — **32, 4. quod** is here a relative. — **cernere,** stronger than *videre,* here used of the mind.

32, 5. Ego is emphatic from its position; "*I,*" for my part; he is giving *quid ipse sentiat* (l. 3). — **vestros patres**: For Paulus see 7, 28. The father of Laelius was aedile in 197, praetor in 196, consul in 190, and the friend and companion of the elder Africanus, whom he accompanied on his campaigns. Vell. Paterc. II. 127. — **32, 7. et eam quidem vitam**: When an additional qualification is to be added to something (Engl. "and that too"), the Latin introduces it by *et is, isque, atque is, et hic,* or by *et is quidem, et hic quidem,* and negatively *nec is* etc.; if the addition applies to the whole predicate we find *et id, idque, nec id.* So also *idemque, et idem, atque idem.* Tusc. Disp. I. 24, 57 (*Animus hominis*) *habet primum memoriam, et eam infinitam.* In our passage the added qualification is the clause *quae . . . nominanda.* So in 31, 23 *et ii quidem indocti;* and in 28, 3, with a contrast, *severitatem . . . sed eam modicam.* On the "life worth living" compare Tusc. Disp. I. 31, 75 *Quo* (*in caelestem vitam*) *cum venerimus, tum denique vivemus. Nam haec quidem vita mors est* etc.

32, 8. compagibus, lit. "structures," "organism;" the word is not found elsewhere in Cicero. De Rep. VI. 14 *hi vivunt, qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt.* — **32, 9. munere necessitatis,** "duty of (imposed on us by) *necessity;*" *necessitatis* qualifies only *munere,* not *opere.* — **32, 12. aeternitati,** instead of *aeternae,* draws especial attention to the quality itself; cf. 45, 16 n.

32, 14. tuerentur is taken by some of the commentators in the primary meaning of "behold," "contemplate." The Stoics held that men should contemplate the order and beauty of the

universe, and strive to imitate it in their thoughts, words, and actions. De Nat. Deor. II. 14, 37 *Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum;* and M. Antoninus, VII. 47, directs us to consider the stars and the planets, Ἀποκαθαίρουσι γὰρ αἱ τούτων φαντασίαι τὸν ῥύπον (the sordidness) τοῦ χαμαὶ βίου: cf. XI. 27. Other commentators take *tuerentur* in the usual sense of "guarding," "caring for."—**caelestium** is neuter; see 2, 6 n. fin.

32, 16. ratio ac disputatio is taken by some as a hendiadys, "scientific investigation;" by others better as meaning "reflection and investigation." *disputatio* is here "investigation," whether by study or oral discussion.

78 **32, 18. Pythagoram** etc.: Diog. Laert. VIII. 19, 28 εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα (a portion or particle) αἰθέρος . . . ἀθάνατόν τε . . . ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέσπασται ἀθάνατόν ἐστιν. Tusc. Disp. V. 13, 38 *humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso deo . . . comparari potest.* — **32, 19. incolas paene nostros**: Pythagoras lived at Croto in lower Italy; hence the Pythagoreans were called *Italici philosophi.*

32, 23. Socrates disseruisset, i. e. as related in the Phaedo of Plato. — **32, 24. omnium sapientissimus**: Socrates says, Plat. Apol. 5, p. 21 A, (Χαιρεφῶν) ἤρετο εἴ τις ἐμοῦ εἴη σοφώτερος. ἀνεῖλεν οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι. The answer of the oracle was (Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 144):

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης·
Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

32, 25. sic persuasi mihi, "this is my conviction," "my conviction is;" *sic* is defined by what follows. — **32, 26. celeritas animorum**: Tusc. Disp. I. 19, 43 *nihil est animo velocius; nulla est celeritas, quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere.* — **32, 27. prudentia** has here its etymological meaning (*pro-videre*), which is unusual.

32, 28. tantae scientiae: This expression has caused much trouble because the plural of *scientia* is very rare; some editors bracket it as spurious, others take it as a genitive singular depending on *artes*, "so many arts of (or requiring) so great knowledge." But the plural is possible = "so many branches of knowledge." — **32, 29. naturam,** "being," "substance," the concrete, as in De Fin. IV. 7, 16 *omnis natura vult esse conservatrix sui.* — **32, 30. semper agitetur animus**: So in Plat. Phaedr. p. 245 C ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος. τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον. — **nec principium motus habeat**: So in Tusc. Disp. I. 23, 53, quoting

from the Phaedrus, he says *Solum igitur, quod se ipsum movet . . . numquam ne moveri quidem desinit.* — **32, 31. ne finem quidem,** as in 31, 30, "also no end."

33, 1. esset, haberet, posset: The change of tense from the present (*sit*, *contineat*, *agitetur*, *moveat*) and the resumption of the present afterwards (*discant*, *arripiant* etc.) are to be noticed. Either tense, however, is admissible, although the imperfect is more common after a leading verb in the perfect indicative (*persuasi*). Compare Lael. § 46; and 55, 12 n.—**33, 4. esse argumento** etc., "is a great proof of the opinion that men know most things before they are born." The subject of *esse* is *quod* (the fact that) . . . *recordari.*— **33, 8. Haec Platonis fere,** "These are in substance the views of Plato;" the omission of the predicate is frequent.

CHAPTER XXII.

79 **33, 9. Apud Xenophontem,** in the Cyrop. VIII. 7, 17.—**Cyrus maior**: Cf. 13, 1 n. — **33, 11. nullum,** "not at all."

33, 12. Nec connects, "and not," **enim** introduces the reason, "for," but in English they cannot both be fully rendered; "For you did not see." Xenophon has *οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν τοι τήν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἑωρᾶτε.* — **videbatis,** lit. "you did not use to see," you never saw; the past tense, as if his life were already finished. *videbatis*, you saw with the eye, *intellegebatis*, you understood with the mind.—**33, 14. esse,** "exists," is to be emphasized, not *Eundem*, which has the force of "also," introducing another predicate; see 32, 7 n.

80 **33, 16. si . . . efficerent**: *si . . . effecissent* would be "if they *had done* nothing" in their earthly life; *si . . . efficerent* is "if they *were doing*" or "if they *did* nothing" now in their present life. The belief that the spirits of the dead continued to enjoy the honors paid to them by the living is elsewhere alluded to; perhaps below 34, 10; cf. 42, 2; Xen. Cyrop. VIII. 7, 18 *τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ κύριαι ἦσαν*: Tusc. Disp. I. 15, 35 *veri simile est, cum optumus quisque maxume posteritati serviat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus.* — **33, 21. insipientem,** "unconscious;" compare also *sapientem* below, l. 23. — **33, 22. sed**: There is an ellipsis of *mihi persuasum est*, supplied from *persuaderi potuit* l. 18.

33, 28. Iam vero: *Iam*, as in 24, 23, marking a transition to a new point; and *vero*, introducing it with emphasis; "Furthermore now." **nihil . . . somnum**: The comparison of death to sleep is very common; Ovid. Amor. II. 9, 41 *Stulte, quid est somnus, gelidae nisi mortis imago?* Hom. Il. XIV. 231 Ἔνθ' Ὕπνῳ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο.

81 **33, 30. divinitatem**, "their divine nature." — **remissi**: The opposite of *remissus* is *intentus*, as in 15, 30 *intentum animum.* — **34, 1. sic me colitote** etc.: Xenophon (l. c.) says only καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι ποιεῖτε ἃ ἐγὼ δέομαι. — **34, 2. est interiturus**, "is destined to perish;" compare 3, 27 n. *si . . . futurum est.* — **34, 3. vos tamen** etc.: Xen. τούτους (τοὺς θεοὺς) φοβούμενοι μήποτε ἀσεβὲς μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιήσητε μήτε βουλεύσητε. — **hanc omnem pulchritudinem**, "all these beautiful things about us;" Xen. τήνδε τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξιν.

CHAPTER XXIII.

82 **34, 8. Africanum**, scil. *maiorem.*—**34, 9. patrem aut patruum**: See 12, 26 *Cn. et P. Scipiones* note. — **multos**: So often with an omission of *alios.* — **34, 10. esse conatos**: The perfect where we should expect the future, *conaturos fuisse*, "would have attempted," as below l. 15 *suscepturum fuisse, si . . . essem terminaturus.* In the oratio directa this would be *non conabantur nisi cernerent*, lit. "they were not attempting, unless they perceived (at the time);" a more vivid expression than the usual one and more common in later writers than in Cicero.

34, 12. An censes: See 7, 24 n. *an.* — **34, 13. ut . . . glorier**: See 3, 21 n. *ut pollicear.* — **34, 16. quibus vitam**, "in which I did my life." — **melius fuisset**: See 42, 28 n. *fuerat aequius.* The subjunctive is occasionally used in these phrases, and the pluperfect is not uncommon in negative sentences and questions implying a negative answer. Cf. 41, 13 *potuisset.*

34, 18. nescio quo modo, "in some way." — **34, 21. ut . . . essent** is added to generalize the idea of the preceding sentence, which is already continued in *Quod* and *ita;* "If it were not so (i. e. that my soul would live after death, or, as a general proposition) that the souls (of men) were immortal." — **34, 22. haud . . . niteretur**, "it would not happen that, the better a man was, the more would his soul strive after immortality and glory."

For the form of expression see 26, 32 n. *ut quaeque optime morata est* etc.; compare also the next sentence.

83 **34, 31. quidem** emphasizes *Quo;* "And when I am setting out to go *thither.*" — **34, 32. haud** is found in the speeches of Cicero only before adverbs and *scio*, in the philosophical works also before other verbs; cf. 34, 22. — **35, 1. tamquam Peliam**: It was *Aeson*, not Pelias, according to the story whom Medea made young again; she persuaded the daughters of Pelias to cut their father in pieces and boil him, with the same intention but not with the same result. Ovid. Met. VII. 297 ff.

35, 2. repuerascam, "become a boy again," is used in the literal sense only here; elsewhere it means "to play or frolic like a child." — **35, 3. decurso spatio**: The comparison of life to a race is frequent; *spatium* is the course; *carceres* were the barriers at the beginning; *calx* the goal.

84 **35, 8. docti** are here the philosophers. — **35, 12. habitandi** depends on some general word, *locum*, for example, to be supplied from *devorsorium*. Sen., in excerptis, *Peregrinatio est vita; multum cum deambulaveris, domum redeundum est;* Democritus says Ὁ κόσμος σκηνή, ὁ βίος πάροδος· ἦλθες, ἴδες, ἀπῆλθες.

35, 16. Catonem meum: See 7, 28 n. *filii mei.* — **35, 18. quod contra decuit,** scil. *fieri*. *contra* is an adverb, "otherwise," qualifying *fieri* understood. *quod contra* is not for *contra quod* by anastrophe. Sall. De Bell. Iug. 85, 21 (*maiorum suorum*) *fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant. quod contra est: nam quanto vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior.* For the relative at the beginning, explained by a subsequent clause, see Lael. 58, 1 n. *quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt.* — **35, 22. aequo animo,** "with indifference;" the expression is generally used in a good sense, but here it has another coloring from the connection.

85 **35, 27. qui . . . credam,** "in that I believe;" subj. of reason. — **35, 30. minuti philosophi**: So in De Div. I. 30, 62 he speaks of *minutos philosophos*, referring especially to Epicurus; and in Tusc. Disp. I. 23, 55 *plebeii philosophi* are *ii, qui a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident.* — **35, 31. mortui** is emphatic; "dead," as they think, annihilated.

36, 3. peractio is said to occur only here; for the idea cf. 3, 14; 29, 19. — **36, 6. Haec habui** etc., "This was what I had to say of old age," i. e. when I began to speak. — **36, 8. probare,** "approve."

NOTES ON LAELIUS.

CHAPTER I.

1 **37, 1. Q. Mucius** *Scaevola:* The three most distinguished persons of this family were: 1, *P. Mucius Scaevola*, consul in 133 B.C., one of the founders of the *ius civile;* 2, *Q. Mucius*, his cousin, surnamed the "Augur," who is referred to in the text. Q. Mucius was also distinguished for his knowledge of law; and Cicero mentions (Phil. VIII. 10, 31) his great industry continued in spite of ill-health to an advanced old age, and (De Orat. I. 55, 234) his amiable disposition, *quem omnes amare meritissimo pro eius eximia suavitate debemus;* 3, *Q. Mucius*, surnamed the "Pontifex," the son of Publius (No. 1), even more eminent as an orator and jurist than the others. He was consul in 95, and fell in the struggle between Marius and Sulla (88). Cicero enjoyed his instruction for a long time after the death of the Augur, as he remarks below l. 9. In De Orat. I. 39, 180 he speaks of him as *iuris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium iuris peritissimus.* — **C. Laelio**: See Introd. XII. — **37, 2. memoriter,** not "from memory," but lit. "mindfully," μνημονικῶς, with a full and clear recollection of the facts; so De Fin. IV. 1, 1 *ista exposuisti, ut tam multa, memoriter, ut tam obscura, dilucide.* — **nec dubitare** may be rendered in English "and without hesitation;" for the infinitive after *dubitare* see 8, 2 n. *dubitavit dicere.*— **37, 3. autem,** "moreover," introduces here a circumstance different from, but not opposed to, what precedes; merely another fact necessary to explain the author's acquaintance with the discourse of Laelius. — **37, 4. ita,** "so," "with the intention;" *ita ut numquam discederem* does not here express the *result* of *eram deductus. deducere* was the technical word for placing a son under the care of some eminent lawyer or statesman to be educated for public life; this was usually done on his attaining the sixteenth year and laying aside the *toga praetexta* for the *toga virilis.* — **virili toga:** The change in the usual order throws the emphasis on the adjective;

virili toga, not *praetexta toga* (X. 33 fin.); so below l. 9 *pontificem Scaevolam*, the pontifex, not the augur. — **37, 6. prudenter** (*providere*) conveys the idea of "seeing forth," "seeing into," a thing; "understandingly," "wisely." — **37, 7. breviter et commode dicta,** lit. "things concisely and aptly said;" these were pithy remarks, ἀποφθέγματα, of which collections were sometimes made. *multa* in both instances is used substantively, *disputata* and *dicta* adjectively; but in English we should reverse the relation: "many discussions," "many remarks."

37, 10. unum strengthens the superlative *praestantissimum*, "quite the foremost."—**ingenio** is natural talent.—**37, 11. iustitia** is here "sense of justice," as *aequitas*, 44, 15, is "sense of fairness." — **Sed** breaks off the digression; **de hoc alias,** scil. *dicam;* this is one of the forms of the so-called *revocatio*, calling back to the subject in hand.

2 **37, 13. multa** is not the object of *memini*, but of *dicere* or *narrare* understood; the sentence is begun as if such a verb were to follow, but the construction is changed in l. 15 *in eum sermonem illum incidere.* The omission of the verb of saying is rather harsh in this passage, but not uncommon in certain short phrases; see 2, 17 n. *Sed quid opus est plura*, scil. *dicere?* Instead of *multa* we should say in English "many other things;" and we should turn the whole expression differently: "Among many other things I particularly remember his touching upon a matter which then," etc. — **37, 16. permultis** is an emendation suggested independently by Strelitz and Schiche for the common *fere multis;* and we have adopted it in preference to Müller's emendation *forte multis.* **erat in ore,** as we say "was on their tongues," "was talked about."—**profecto,** "surely," "I am sure;" the word generally denotes a conviction existing in the mind of the speaker rather than an objective certainty. — **37, 17. P. Sulpicio** *Rufo:* Sulpicius belonged at first to the party of the *Optimates*, but in 88, in consequence of the unlawful measures taken by Caesar to obtain the consulship, he broke with the consuls, Q. Pompeius Rufus and Sulla, and joined the opposite party. The intimacy between him and Atticus arose from the fact that his brother, M. Servius, had married Anicia, the niece of Atticus. — **37, 18. is tribunus,** not "that tribune," but "he, being tribune;" cf. 9, 27 n. *quemquam;* 9, 31 *philosophi senes.* — **37, 19. qui tum erat consul,** "at that time consul;" but in Latin the relative clause is much more common.

3 37, 21. **tum** seems to refer to the time indicated in the preceding sentence, and not to be correlative to the following *cum . . . incidisset*, which is added independently and rather unnecessarily to describe the occasion of the discourse; *cum . . . incidisset*, "happening to speak of that in conversation." — **38, 1. eam mentionem**=*eius rei mentionem.*— **38, 3. C. Fannio**: See Introd. XIV. — **38, 4. Africani**: Introd. VIII.

38, 5. quas exposui, "and these I have set forth;" the relative *quas* must be thus resolved in order to give due prominence to the clause; the setting forth the thoughts is really the principal idea. — **38, 6. quasi ipsos**, "as it were in person;" *quasi* implies a more intimate resemblance than *tamquam*, l. 7. — **enim**: See 3, 32 n. *Saepe enim.* — **38, 8. coram** is an adverb, and pleonastic after *a praesentibus*. The homoioteleuton *interponeretur, videretur* is to be noticed; it was not unpleasant to a Roman ear. — **videretur**, i. e. the *disputatio*.

4 **38, 9. mecum ageres**: An imitation of a legal phrase; a magistrate was said *agere cum populo*, "to bring a proposal before the people." — **38, 10. digna nostra familiaritate**, "worthy of our intimate relation," perhaps with the idea of presenting it as a *munus* to Atticus; as in 1, 20 *Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere* etc.

38, 11. feci non invitus, ut prodessem: *feci, ut prodessem* is not a simple circumlocution for *profui* (compare 18, 5 n. *Invitus feci, ut—eicerem*); nor has it exactly the force of "I resolved to profit," calling attention to the *undertaking* the action; the expression seems to be chosen, as Müller suggests, to lay emphasis on *non invitus*, "I was not unwilling to do it, in the hope of being useful to a larger circle." The expression *facere ut* with subjunctive must in general be variously rendered according to the context.

38, 13. est scriptus ad te de senectute: See 1, 15 n. *de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere.* — **38, 14. senem** has greater emphasis by being separated from *Catonem;* not "the old man Cato," but "I introduced Cato as an old man (in the character of an old man) carrying on the discussion." — **disputantem**: The word generally denotes in Cicero discussion of some scientific question. — **38, 15. persona** is the mask (*per-sonare*) used by the actors on the stage; the character which a person sustains; the person himself, but considered as the embodiment of a sort of character, "personage." — **aptior, quae loqueretur**, "more

fitted for speaking;" the relative and subjunctive to denote the purpose. — **38, 16. eius, qui,** "of one, who;" rel. and subj. to describe the person. — **38, 17. praeter ceteros** is "beyond the others," *prae ceteris,* "in comparison with the others." — **floruisset,** scil. *opibus, copiis, dignitate* (4, 19), *auctoritate.* — **38, 18. C. Laeli et P. Scipionis**: See Introd. VIII., XII.

38, 22. hominum veterum, not "old men," but "men of former times." — **38, 23. et eorum**: See 32, 7 n. *et eam quidem vitam.* — **nescio quo pacto,** "in some way or other." — **38, 25. adficior,** scil. *mente.*

5 **38, 26. Sed**: See 37, 11 n. *Sed.* — **senem senex de senectute,** an instance of the figure called *traductio; quae facit uti, cum idem verbum crebrius ponatur, non modo non offendat animum, sed etiam concinniorem orationem reddat* (Auct. ad Herenn. IV. 14, 20).

39, 2. cuius does not depend upon *disputatio,* but upon *est;* "and the whole discussion of friendship proceeds from him."

CHAPTER II.

6 **39, 4. Sunt ista,** ἔστι ταῦτα = *sunt ista, ut dicis* (De Rep. I. 10, 16); the conversation upon the death of Africanus has already begun. — **39, 6. omnium** at the beginning, and **unum** at the end of the phrase, both receive emphasis from the separation. See 2, 9 n. *parum . . . auctoritatis.*

39, 7. hoc, i. e. *ut sapiens appellaretur.* — **39, 8. modo,** "lately," is used here of what happened more than twenty years before; see 12, 11 n. — **L. Acilium,** an older contemporary of Cato, mentioned by Cicero as a commentator on the Twelve Tables; Pompon. Dig. I. 2. 2. 38 *primus a populo sapiens appellatus est.* — **39, 9. alio quodam modo,** lit. "in a certain other way," "in a somewhat different way;" *quodam* modifies the meaning of *alio.* See 49, 14 n. *admirabilis quaedam.* — **39, 11. multarum rerum usum**: Liv. XXXIX. 40, 4 *Nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit;* Quintilian, Inst. Orat. XII. 11, 23 *idem summus imperator, idem sapiens, idem orator, idem historiae conditor, idem iuris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit.* — **39, 13. ferebantur,** "were generally talked about." — **39, 14. quasi cognomen,** "as it were a cognomen," i. e. it had not as yet become a recognized title, as in later times.

39, 15. Te . . . esse sapientem would naturally be followed by and depend upon *existimant* or a similar word; but after the long parenthesis *nec . . . iudicatum* the beginning of the sentence is lost sight of, and the clause *te . . . esse sapientem* is repeated in another form in *hanc esse . . . sapientiam* (l. 22). Some commentators, however, make the clause dependent on *existimant* (l. 7), the influence of which is still felt through the long sentence *Tribuebatur . . . sapientis.* — **39, 16. natura** is one's natural constitution, "temperament;" *moribus*, the "character" as the result of teaching and the principles of conduct which one adopts; both are opposed to *studio* and *doctrina*, the former denoting exertions, pursuits, studies, the latter scientific, systematic knowledge.

39, 18. appellare sapientem, "to call *a person* wise;" in English the direct object must be supplied. — **reliqua,** the rest of Greece, excepting Athens, which is mentioned below; the proleptic use of the adjective mentioned in 2, 6 n. *ceteris.*

7 **39, 19. qui ista subtilius quaerunt,** i. e. who judge in this matter from a philosophical point of view, looking at it more carefully than the common man. — **39, 21. et eum quidem etc.:** See 32, 24 n.

39, 23. omnia tua: Compare the saying of Bias: *Omnia mea mecum porto.* **in te posita esse**: The English idiom is: "depend upon yourself." The Stoics taught that virtue contained in itself all the conditions of happiness, αὐτάρκη εἶναι τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, that the good or wise man was superior to all the chances of human life. — **39, 24. virtute inferiores,** English "inferior *to*," "of less importance than virtue." — **39, 25. hoc Scaevola,** "Scaevola here."

39, 27. commentandi causa, "for the sake of studying," "deliberating upon," the auspices, which was done in some open place, as here *in hortis Bruti.* — **39, 28. qui . . . solitus esses,** concessive, "although you had been accustomed."

8 **39, 31. Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multi,** "A great *many* persons *do* ask, Laelius." *Quaerunt* and *multi* are both emphatic, the former because of *quidem*, the latter from its position. In English we can give this by stress of voice in reading. — **40, 2. moderate,** "with moderation" (*modus*, limit), "calmly." **nec potuisse non commoveri** and **nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae** are taken by nearly all the commentators as contrasted expressions, added as an explanation of *ferre moderate*, without connective, the first *nec* being only a correlative to the second *nec*.

The sense would then be: "That neither on the one hand could you avoid being affected, nor on the other would your kindly feeling permit it." The first *nec* seems to us rather a connective (adversative) with the foregoing, and the second *nec* to introduce an explanation of *potuisse non commoveri*, the idea being this: I answer that you bear the grief calmly, but that you could not remain quite unmoved at so great a loss, and indeed your *kindly feeling* (disposition) would not have allowed you to do so. *id* (l. 3) refers to *non commoveri*.

40, 4. valetudinem is a *vox media*, denoting good or bad health according to the context.

40, 6. quidem throws emphasis, not upon *tu*, but upon *recte;* "you answered quite *rightly*." See 11, 25 n. *quidem*. — **nec** corresponds to *nec* l. 8, the first introducing a particular, the second a general statement. *isto officio*, "that duty of which you speak," and *incommodo meo* correspond chiastically to *ullo casu* and *officii*, "duty in general." *usurpare* here means "practise;" the signification "to take unlawfully," "usurp," is not ante-Augustan. A *constans homo* is a man of solid, consistent character, who never swerves from what he knows to be right. *officii* is emphatically placed at the end of the sentence.

9 **40, 10. quod . . . dicis,** "whereas you say," "in saying." — **40, 11. adgnosco,** "recognize as matter of right," **postulo,** "lay claim to." — **40, 12. ut mihi videris,** not *ut mihi videtur;* the so-called personal construction of *videor*. — **40, 13. quidem** emphasizes *quod*, "and *this*."

40, 15. filii: See 7, 28 n. — **40, 16. Paulum**: See 7, 28 n. — *C. Sulpicium* **Galum**: See 21, 4 n. — **in pueris,** "in the case of boys," scil. *mortem tulerunt*. — **40, 17. perfecto,** "full-grown."

10 **40, 18. istum ipsum**: See 32, 24 n. — **40, 19. huius**: Contrary to the general usage *hic* refers here to the former of the two persons just mentioned; but Cato is nearer to the speaker than Socrates. See 29, 4 n.

CHAPTER III.

40, 23. id refers to *desiderio non* (from *negem*) *moveri*. Two words which belong together (*quam recte*) often receive emphasis from the interposition of a less important word (*id*); the voice

rests more easily upon both *quam* and *recte* for the relief given by *id.* Compare 47, 29 *qua me ratione cogatis;* 68, 16 *tum se denique;* 69, 19 *aliquis nos deus.* — **sapientes,** i. e. the Stoics, who held that a complete freedom from passion, ἀπάθεια, was necessary to perfect happiness; cf. 39, 23 n. *in te posita esse.*

40, 24. Moveor, scil. *desiderio.* The position gives emphasis to the verb; "I *am* moved." — **40, 26. medicina:** The word is perhaps chosen because the Stoics regarded all passion as a disease, *morbus animi.* — **40, 28. decessu** we are apt to render in English as an ablative of time; but it is in Latin the ablative of the more remote cause, *quo* being that of the immediate cause. So l. 24 *Moveor*, scil. *desiderio* (immediate cause), *tali amico orbatus* (remote cause).

11 **40, 31. actum esse praeclare:** Compare 38, 9 n.; when the verb is used in the passive impersonally with *bene, male, praeclare* etc., it has the meaning of "to fare, to go, well, ill, famously," etc.

40, 32. putabat, scil. *optandam esse,* supplied from *optare.* — **inmortalitatem** (*in-mortalis*) is here simply "freedom from death," living on forever. — **41, 1. vellet** is not the imperfect subjunctive to denote a supposition contrary to fact in present time, but is *si velit,* "if he were to wish," changed to the past. — **41, 2. qui** joins this sentence closely with the preceding, introducing the reason of it, "For he." See 4, 7 n. — **41, 3. continuo adulescens,** i. e. at the battle of Pydna in 168. For the events of Scipio's life see Introd. VIII. — **41, 6. sibi suo tempore:** There is play upon the word *tempus,* used in l. 5 in the sense of "legal age," here in that of "appropriate occasion;" "in good (*suo*) time for himself, but almost too late for the republic." — **41, 7. duabus urbibus,** Carthage and Numantia.

41, 9. Quid dicam de etc.: The so-called figure of *amplificatio;* "I cannot speak too highly of," "Words fail me in speaking of," etc. **moribus facillimis** are his amiable, benevolent character; and the following ablatives, introduced by a single *de,* are in apposition with *moribus;* they are parts of the *mores.* He supported his mother, Papiria, after her divorce from his father, and gave her the inheritance of his adoptive grandmother, wife of the first Africanus (*pietate in matrem*); upon the death of Papiria he gave the same inheritance to his sisters, who had no legal right to it (*liberalitate in sorores*); to his brother, Q. Fabius Maximus, he gave up all the inheritance from his father (*bonitatem in suos*); for *iustitia* as a part of the *mores*

facillimi compare Brut. 21, 85 *erat omnino tum mos, ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo.*

41, 12. maerore funeris, "the mourning at his funeral;" Tusc. Disp. IV. 8, 18 *maeror est aegritudo flebilis.* For examples of objective genitives see 1, 13 n. *quarum consolatio.*—**41, 13. paucorum annorum accessio**: Scipio died in 129, at the age of fifty-six. — **potuisset**: See 42, 28 n. *fuerat aequius;* 34, 16 n. *melius fuisset;* there is a condition implied in *annorum accessio;* "if he had lived a few years longer."

41, 15. Catonem disserere, i. e. in the dialogue *De Senectute,* which is supposed to take place in 150. — **41, 17. etiam nunc erat**: Laelius is speaking only *paucis diebus post mortem Africani* (38, 3).

12 **41, 18. fortuna** and **gloria** are ablatives of cause. In *fortuna* Cicero includes the idea of divine assistance; he says, Pro Leg. Man. 16, 47, *Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adiuncta fortuna;* Pro Balbo c. 9 (*Pompeius*) *in quo ita summa fortuna cum summa virtute certavit ut plus homini quam deae tribueretur.*

41, 19. moriendi autem sensum etc.: Scipio justified the murder of Ti. Gracchus in 133, and so incurred the hatred of the common people; and this was greatly increased by his opposition to the agrarian laws. For the manner of his death see Introd. VIII. Although in our text Cicero uses very guarded language, in other passages he follows the common opinion that the death was a violent one. Compare below 53, 21, where, however, the allusion is not quite clear.

41, 22. diebus, quos celeberrimos laetissimosque: The sense is "of the many very famous and very happy days which he saw in his life;" cf. 19, 29 n. *qui pauci admodum restant;* and below 46, 7 *eorum, qui pauci nominantur.*

41, 24. reductus: See 26, 31 n. — **41, 25. sociis et Latinis**: *et* does not add the last term of a series, which would be contrary to usage, but *socii et Latini* is a single term denoting the *socii,* of whom the *Latini* were especially mentioned as the most important part. — **41, 27. deos** is to be taken in apposition with *superos,* and not to be repeated with *inferos; ad superos,* "to those above," *deos,* "that is, the gods;" *ad inferos,* "to the lower world."

CHAPTER IV.

13 **41, 29. iis,** i. e. the Epicureans, whose materialistic doctrine had begun to gain footing at Rome.—**haec disserere**: The Latin often uses a verb of special meaning with a neuter pronoun as object, where we use a verb of general meaning with an object of special signification; *multa quaerere*, "to ask many questions;" *hoc postulare*, "to make this demand;" *haec disserere*, "to set forth these doctrines."

41, 32. tam religiosa iura, "rights so religiously binding," "so scrupulously guarded;" *tam* is "so"—as we all acknowledge them to be. The "rights" of the dead were those of burial, sacrifices, visits to the grave, monuments, celebration of the anniversary of the death.—**42, 2. nihil** is equivalent to a strong *non*, not the subject of *pertinere*.—**qui fuerunt,** Engl. "who *lived*;" but to express the simple idea of "existing," "being," as here, the Latin uses *esse*, not *vivere*, which is stronger, as "to live" in distinction from "to be dead." The allusion is to Pythagoras and his school which flourished in Southern Italy about 600 B.C.; *Tarquinio Superbo regnante Pythagoras in Italiam venit.*—**42, 3. nunc deleta est**: After Lower Italy became subject to Rome the name of Magna Graecia fell into disuse and the power of her cities passed away.—**42, 6. qui non tum hoc,** scil. *dicebat.* **ut in plerisque** (neuter), scil. *dicebat.* That is, on most subjects Socrates used to offer no definite opinion, but simply to draw out the views of others and discuss with them. The text is uncertain; in Baiter's text, *cui . . . uti plerisque, plerisque* is masculine, "most philosophers." Strelitz proposes *uti plerique*, scil. *dicunt*, understanding *plerique* to refer to the sophists.—**42, 8. ex corpore**: We might expect *ex corporibus;* but the singular may be used in Latin as in English when it denotes the state of being in the body.—**42, 9. optimo . . . expeditissimum**: See 26, 32 n. *ut quaeque optime morata est.*

14 **42, 11. praesagiret,** *id est, futura ante sentiret* (De Div. I. 31, 65).—**42, 12.** *L. Furius* **Philus,** consul in 136, a friend of Scipio and Laelius, and several times mentioned as one of their literary circle.—*M'.* **Manilius,** consul in 149, distinguished as an orator and a writer on law. Laelius here alludes to the conversations which form the subject of Cicero's books *De Republica;* fragments only remain of this work, the most important of which is

the *Somnium Scipionis* of the sixth book. — **adesset,** in the singular, as often happens, agreeing with the nearest subject. — **et alii plures,** among them Q. Tubero and Sp. Mummius. — **42, 15. extremum**: See 30, 24 n. **fere** does not qualify *extremum; fuit fere de* etc., "treated mainly of," etc. — **quae** (neut. plur.) refers generally to the contents of the discourse. So above 41, 29 *haec* referring to the opinions there mentioned; below l. 22 *illa;* Ep. ad Fam. II. 8, 2 *complures dies nullis in aliis nisi de re publica sermonibus versatus sum, quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt.*

42, 17. optumi . . . facillime: See above l. 9; 26, 32 n. — **42, 18. tamquam** excuses what in Latin was an unusual expression; but in English "the prison, bondage, chains, of the body" do not seem forced, and *tamquam* may be omitted in translating. — **42, 19. cui censemus** etc.: The Latin phrase "for whom do we think the way was more easy?" corresponds to the English "for whom must the way have been easier?" or "for whom must we suppose that the way was easier?" So De Fin. V. 19, 50 *Quem enim ardorem studii censetis fuisse in Archimede, qui dum in pulvere quaedam describit attentius, ne patriam quidem captam esse senserit?* — **42, 22. illa,** "those views," mentioned in § 13 init. In English we prefer the singular: "But if the opposite view is more consonant with truth," etc. The omission of the praedicate is very common in these short phrases; below 66, 28 *omnia praeclara rara;* 70, 15 *molesta veritas.* — **42, 24. fit idem, quasi,** "the case is the same, as if;" *quasi* here = *ac si.* The subject of *natus esset* is the antecedent of *quem.*

15 **42, 28. fuerat aequius**: In certain phrases denoting possibility, duty, convenience, and the like, and in the periphrastic conjugations, the indicative is the rule in the apodosis. For cases of the subjunctive see 34, 16 n. *melius fuisset;* 41, 13 n. *potuisset.* AG. 308 c.; H. 511, note 3.

42, 31. quia vixerim: The clause has the subjunctive because it states the reason as it was in the mind of Laelius whenever he thought of the matter. Strelitz explains it thus: If another person said of Laelius *sic fruitur, ut beate vixisse videatur, quia cum Scipione vixerit,* it would be apparent that *quia . . . vixerit* gave the reason of Laelius, not of the writer, and so the subjunctive would be necessary. The clause is also an essential part of the idea *ut beate vixisse videar;* the succeeding clauses are not necessarily so. Cf. 2, 22 n. *quod . . . senserim.*

43, 1. domus et militia: The former denotes intimate asso-

ciation in private life; in De Orat. II. 6, 22 Crassus says: *Saepe ex socero meo audivi cum is diceret socerum suum Laelium semper fere cum Scipione solitum rusticari eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos, cum rus ex urbe tamquam e vinculis evolavissent.* See Introd. XIII. — **id** is necessary before *in quo* because the relative refers not to a single word but to a whole phrase which comes afterwards, *voluntatum . . . consensio,* which is treated as a neuter substantive.

43, 2. vis amicitiae, "the force," "the essence of friendship," **studiorum,** "interests." — **43, 5. quam quod spero,** Engl. "as the hope that;" in Latin *non tam fama delectat quam spes* etc. would have been very harsh. — **43, 8. tria aut quattuor,** namely, Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, and in historical times Damon and Phintias. — **quo in genere,** not "and in this respect," but "and in this class," "as one of this class." — **43, 9. sperare videor,** scil. *mihi,* lit. "I seem to myself to hope," "I venture to hope;" *spero* alone would have savored of presumption.

16 **43, 12. quoniam** is often used to introduce what is generally known or has just been mentioned, in order to pass to a new topic; ἐπειδή, Fr. *puisque.* — **43, 13. feceris si disputaris:** See 3, 22 n. *feceris . . . didicerimus.*

43, 15. de amicitia depends on *quid sentias,* "what you think about friendship;" and this under two heads, *qualem existumes,* theory, *quae praecepta des,* practice.

43, 18. tecum agere: See 38, 9 n. *mecum ageres.* The position of *atque id ipsum* is to be noticed; in English we reverse the dependence of the clauses; "and, in fact, that is just what I was going to propose to you, when Fannius anticipated me."

CHAPTER V.

17 **43, 23. doctorum,** i. e. the philosophers. It was at first the Sophists who were ready to discuss any subject that might be proposed to them. De Orat. I. 22, 102 *Quid? mihi nunc vos tamquam alicui Graeculo otioso et loquaci et fortasse docto atque erudito quaestiunculam, de qua meo arbitratu loquar, ponitis?* — **eaque:** the pronoun *is* to add another qualification; see 32, 7 n. *et eam quidem vitam.* — **43, 24. de quo,** "a subject upon which;"

the antecedent must be supplied in English. — **43, 25. magnum opus,** "a difficult thing to do."

43, 26. disputari, of philosophical discussions. — **43, 27. ista,** i. e. philosophy.

18 **43, 32. ad vivum reseco,** lit. "cut to the quick," "go to the bottom of a thing," and define it with scientific precision. — **ut illi,** scil. *Stoici,* who had an elaborate system of logic. — **44, 3. sapientem:** The *sapiens* of the Stoics was the embodiment of all that is wise and good. He was all-knowing, and thus able unerringly to distinguish between right and wrong; completely master of himself, and so free from all temptation; all his actions were absolutely right. The ideal was unattainable; and Laelius reminds us several times that he is speaking only of the *sapientia* which is found in common life.

44, 4. eam sapientiam etc., lit. "they understand that as wisdom, which," etc.; "by wisdom they mean something, which," etc. The pronoun *eam* is attracted to agree with *sapientiam.* — **mortalis nemo,** lit. "no one, a mortal," *mortalis* being in apposition and placed first for emphasis; cf. 9, 27 n. *quemquam.* — **44, 5. usu vitaque communi,** "the experience of common life," ἓν διὰ δυοῖν. — **44, 6. non ea . . . optantur,** "not mere fancies or pious wishes."

44, 7. C. Fabricium etc.: See 7, 29 n. — **44, 10. sibi habeant:** See 25, 1 n. — **invidiosum,** because it is something out of the reach of ordinary men, **obscurum,** because it is not easy to understand what the Stoics mean by it. — **44, 11. concedant, ut:** *concedere,* "to concede" in an argument that a thing *is so,* generally takes the accusative with the infinitive, "to permit" that something be done, *ut* with the subjunctive. The rule is not always observed; but there is perhaps a touch of irony here, as Lahmeyer suggests, "let them be pleased to allow," etc.

19 **44, 13. pingui Minerva:** A common phrase (*ut aiunt*). *Minerva* is put by metonymy for *ingenio,* and qualified by *pingui;* Hor. Sat. II. 2, 3 *crassa;* Ars Poet. 385 *invita.*

44, 14. fides is "conscientiousness," **integritas** (*intango*), "incorruptibility," **aequitas,** "fairmindedness," **liberalitas,** "high-tone" (*liber, liberalis,* "befitting a free man," above anything low or mean). — **44, 16. audacia,** "assuming arrogance." — **constantia:** See 40, 6 n. — **44, 18. ut habiti sunt,** "as they have been considered" in ordinary life. — **quia sequantur,** "because they follow (as we think);" the subjunctive, because *quia sequan-*

tur is an essential part of the idea which is the object of *putemus*. Compare above 42, 31 *quia vixerim*. — **44, 19. sequantur naturam**: So κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν, which is the same as κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν. See 3, 12 n. *naturam optimam ducem*. The Stoic ideal was not attainable in common life; hence one could only follow nature *quantum homines possunt*.

44, 21. societas quaedam: The different degrees of relationship in human society are given in De Off. I. 17, 53; first that existing between man and man, then that between men of the same nation or language, city or town, family, etc. The subject is referred to here to show that friendship has its foundation in natural law. — **44, 22. maior, proxume**: See 26, 32 n. *ut quaeque optime morata est*; and notice the comparative corresponding to the superlative.

44, 23. potiores quam, "to be preferred to." — **peregrini** are "foreigners;" **alieni**, opposed to *propinqui*, those not belonging to our own family. — **44, 24. his** refers to *propinqui*, as being actually nearer to us than *alieni*. Compare 40, 19 *huius facta*, *illius dicta*. — **44, 28. amicitiae nomen**, "the idea of friendship."

20 **44, 29. Quanta autem vis** etc.: The sense of this passage, to judge from the commentators, is not very clear. We understand it thus: The power (*vis*) of friendship may be best seen from the fact that the affection which we by nature bestow on mankind in general (*infinita societas generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura*) becomes more intense in proportion as people are more nearly related to us, and finally in friendship is gathered up and concentrated (*contracta et adducta in angustum*) so that it is bestowed only on one or on a very few persons. *conciliare* is to bring together, to harmonize; *omnis caritas* is the whole affection.

CHAPTER VI.

45, 3. enim introduces the definition of friendship under the form of a reason or explanation of the preceding remark. — **45, 4. rerum consensio**, objective genitive, "an agreement *in* things." See 1, 13 n. *quarum consolatio*. **cum benivolentia et caritate**, "*united* with kindly affection." In English we supply some adjective before *cum benivolentia*, and in Latin a preposition

with its case is not usually joined to a substantive, as here to *consensio*, except in definitions. *benivolentia et caritate* is a hendiadys; in 48, 30 we find *cum caritate aliqua benivola;* in 50, 12 *benivolentiae caritatem.*—**45, 5. haut scio an,** "I am inclined to think." See 24, 13 n. *haud scio an.*—**sapientia** is wisdom including the knowledge *recte vivendi.*

45, 7. bonam valetudinem: See 40, 4 n. *valetudinem.*—**45, 9. hoc extremum,** "this last." See 42, 15 *extremum;* 30, 24 n. *vitae reliquum.*—**45, 12. illi quidem:** See 27, 26 n. *illius quidem.*—**45, 13. cóntinet,** in its literal meaning (*con-teneo*), "holds together," "maintains;" so 74, 5 *Virtus et conciliat amicitias et conservat.*

21 **45, 15. sermonis,** "common parlance."—**45, 16. nec,** "and . . . not."—**quidam docti,** scil. the Stoics; *docti* is an adjective qualifying *quidam.* **verborum magnificentia,** "high-sounding words;" but in Latin, when the *quality* is to be made particularly prominent, it is expressed by an abstract noun (*magnificentia*), upon which the substantive in the genitive (*verborum*) depends. So 49, 14 *benivolentiae magnitudo,* "a very great feeling of kindness."—**45, 17. qui habentur,** "who are so considered," in common life.—**45, 18. Paulos:** See 7, 28 n.—**Galos:** See 21, 4 n.—**45, 19. Philos:** See 42, 12; the plural is used, as we say "the Miltons and the Shakespeares of our century."

22 **45, 21. oportunitates:** *oportunitas* is "fitness," *oportunitates* "occasions of fitness," and hence "advantages." See 25, 18 n. *proceritates.*

45, 23. vitalis, lit. "vital," "possessing life" (βίος βιωτός); "how can life be really life?" So 4, 5 n. *voluptatibus sine quibus vitam nullam putarent;* and below 69, 9 *sine amicitia vitam esse nullam.*—**Ennius:** See 1, 1 n.—**quae . . . conquiescit:** The indicative because the clause is simply attributive.

45, 25. quicum when the antecedent is indefinite, *quocum* when it is definite.—**Qui esset tantus fructus,** lit. "Of what sort would be the so great enjoyment in prosperity?" i. e. What would the enjoyment which is said to be so great in prosperity amount to? not "what so great enjoyment would there be?"

45, 29. ceterae res is used proleptically, opposed to *amicitia,* 46, 1; the whole sentence may be made dependent in English: "while other objects of desire (*res, quae expetuntur*) are adapted each for the most part to special purposes, . . . friendship," etc. —**45, 30. opes:** See 4, 19 n.—**ut colare,** "to be courted," i. e. in the Roman sense, to be surrounded by a troop of clients.

honores, also in the Roman sense, "official honors." — **45, 32. careas**: *carere* generally means "to be destitute" of what one desires, sometimes "to be free from" what one dislikes; see **19, 2** n. — **46, 1. continet,** not as in 45, 13, but simply "embraces." **quoquo te verteris,** "whichever way you turn;" *verteris* is probably a subjunctive form. The 2d sing. is thus occasionally used with indefinite subject; De Off. III. 13, 57 *quicquid reticeas;* De Orat. III. 52, 201 *Quibuscumque verbis uti velis.*

46, 3. itaque, *ita-que,* "and so." **non aqua, non igni,** symbolizing the absolute necessaries of life, as in the formula *interdicere alicui aqua et igni.* The expression seems to have been proverbial (*ut aiunt*); so in De Off. I. 16, 52 Cicero speaks of *illa communia: non prohibere aqua profluente, pati ab igne ignem capere.* — **locis pluribus** continues the form of expression *nullo loco excluditur* l. 2; we should say "more frequently."

46, 5. Neque ego etc.: Three kinds of friendship are spoken of in this sentence: *vulgaris,* that of the common herd, *mediocris* (the repetition of *de* shows that this is a second variety), that most frequently met with, and the *vera et perfecta;* the last must be taken, not in the strict philosophical sense, which the author leaves out of consideration (§ 38), but for the ideal of friendship as it is met with in actual life, *inter bonos, in usu vitaque communi.* — **46, 7. eorum qui pauci nominantur**: See 19, 29 n. *qui pauci admodum restant.*

46, 8. splendidiores: So 55, 16 *Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt.* Bacon, Essay on Friendship: This communicating of a Man's self to his *Friend,* works two contrary Effects; for it redoubleth *Joys,* and cutteth *Griefs* in Halves. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Joys* to his *Friend,* but he *joyeth* the more; and no Man, that imparteth his *Griefs* to his *Friend,* but he *grieveth* the less.

CHAPTER VII.

23 **46, 10. Cumque**: *que* is occasionally used to pass to a new point of the discourse; here it corresponds to *Principio* above 45, 22. — **46, 11. illa** may, so far as the form is concerned, be nominative or ablative. If nominative, the sense is: *illa commoditas praestat omnibus commoditatibus,* "that advantage outweighs

all others," namely, that (*quod*) etc.; if ablative: *illa commoditate praestat omnibus rebus*, "it (friendship) excels all things in respect to that advantage," namely, that (*quod*) etc. The former explanation is preferable. — **46, 12. bonam spem praelucet**: *praelucere*, intransitive (as it usually is), "to shine forth;" transitive, as here if the text is correct, "to let shine forth;" the sense is: "gives us the light of a bright hope for the future." An inferior reading, adopted in some editions, is *bona spe praelucet*, "shines forth with a good hope."

46, 14. exemplar aliquod intuetur sui: So Aristotle, Magn. Moral. II. 15, says: *ὅταν θέλωμεν αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον ἰδεῖν, εἰς τὸ κάτοπτρον ἐμβλέψαντες εἴδομεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς βουληθῶμεν γνῶναι, εἰς τὸν φίλον ἰδόντες γνωρίσαιμεν ἄν· ἔστι γάρ, ὥς φαμεν, ὁ φίλος ἕτερος ἐγώ.*

46, 15. absentes adsunt etc.: An example of the figure *ὀξύμωρον*, *quo repugnantia acute repugnantur.* Absent friends are present, since 67, 9 (*amicus*) *est tamquam alter idem*, *ἕτερος ἐγώ*; *egentes abundant*, because, as Pythagoras said, *κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων*. — **46, 16. difficilius dictu** is almost the same as *incredibilius*. — **46, 17. tantus honos prosequitur**, in English, "so great is the honor paid." *honos* refers to the *religiosa iura* of 42, 1; see the note. — **46, 18. amicorum** is emphatically placed at the end.

46, 20. benivolentiae coniunctionem, "the bond of kind feeling," which was mentioned at the beginning of c. 6 as a part of friendship, that springing from the affections. — **46, 22. Id** refers to the preceding sentence, but is itself further explained by *quanta vis . . . sit*.

24 **46, 27. Agrigentinum**: Empedocles of Agrigentum in Sicily, about 440 B.C., taught in his work *περὶ τῆς φύσεως* that there were four original elements, from which the universe was created by the action of two opposite principles, *φιλότης*, friendship which united, and *νεῖκος*, enmity which repelled them. Laelius does not mention the name of Empedocles, referring to him only vaguely as *doctum quendam*, because at that time some odium attached to any one who was devoted to the study of Greek philosophy and literature. — **46, 28. vaticinatum**: The word is sometimes used of poets, who were thought to speak with somewhat of the inspiration of prophets (*vates*). — **46, 29. constarent, moverentur**, i. e. solid and fluid.

46, 32. re probant, i. e. show their approval by their actions. — **47, 1. exstitit**, lit. "has stood out," "comes under one's notice."

47, 3. cavea was the part of the theatre occupied by the spectators. The preposition *in* is not used with the substantive when *totus* precedes. — **47, 4. M. Pacuvi**: *Marcus Pacuvius*, a nephew of the poet Ennius, born about 220, was a famous dramatic poet. The play (*fabula*) was the *Dulorestes*, the subject of which was the same as that of the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides. The passage alluded to in the text is thus given by Bergk (Rhein. Mus. XIX. [1864], p. 605):

Pylad. *Ego sum Orestes.* Orest. *Immo enimvero ego sum inquam Orestes.* Thoas. *Ambo ergo una*
Necamini? Orest. Pylad. *Precamur.*

Thoas is the king before whom the friends are brought.

47, 6. ita ut erat, lit. "so as he was," "as was really the case." — **47, 7. Stantes,** i. e. Springing to their feet; but, as Pompeius first introduced seats into the theatre, we must suppose forgetfulness on the part of Cicero in transferring to an earlier period the usage of his own time. — **47, 8. quid arbitramur,** Engl. "what must we think?" or "what do you think?" so 42, 19 *cui censemus.*

47, 10. recte fieri would be *recte fit* in the oratio directa; *recte factum* (*esse*) would be *recte factum est.* **in altero**: The force of *in* with the ablative is very clearly seen in this passage; *in alterum*, "against another," *ab altero*, "by another," *in altero*, "*in the case of* another." The last expression is always loosely connected with the sentence; here it qualifies *iudicarent* as well as *recte fieri.* So above *in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis* denotes only the occasion; "in the matter of" a thing, "in the case of" a person, are English equivalents. See Seyff.-Müll. in loco.

47, 12. de amicitia depends on *quid sentirem.* **47, 13. potuisse dicere** is a milder expression than *dixisse.*—**si qua praeterea sunt,** εἴ τινα ἄλλα ἐστί. — **47, 14. si videbitur**: See 3, 28 n. *nisi molestum est.*

25 **47, 17. equidem** is used by Cicero almost exclusively when the subject of the sentence is of the first person; it gives emphasis, however, to other words as well; here to *non invitus.* — **47, 18. aliud quoddam filum** etc., "the treatment is somewhat different in your discourse." *filum orationis* is not our "thread of a discourse;" the metaphor in Latin is taken from the weaver's art; the thread of the cloth, fine or coarse, "the construction," "the style," "the way of treatment."

47, 19. magis, "with more reason." — **si . . . adfuisses,** on the occasion mentioned in § 14.

47, 22. accuratam (*cura*), "studied." **orationem Phili**: Philus maintained the doctrine of Carneades, that *rights* are the creation of human law and vary according to circumstances, *ius autem naturale esse nullum;* Laelius was thus *patronus iustitiae,* "advocate of justice," holding that rights are founded upon natural law. — **47, 23. id,** referring to what precedes, is further explained by *iustitiam . . . defendere;* see 46, 22 n.

47, 25. Quid?: So Müller punctuates, taking *amicitiam* with the following clause, depending on *defendere* understood from the foregoing. Almost all the editions have *Quid amicitiam?*

CHAPTER VIII.

26 **47, 29. cogitis certe,** "you certainly *do* force me." — **Studiis,** "The earnest requests." De Invent. I. 25, 36 (*Studium*) *est animi assidua et vehemens ad aliquam rem applicata magna cum voluntate occupatio.* — **47, 30. in re bona**: See 47, 10 n. *in altero.* It may be translated here by a clause, "when the thing is a good one."

47, 32. Saepissime . . . maxime, "The oftener, then, I think upon friendship, the more it seems to me worth while to consider the point," etc. The two superlatives are correlative; see 26, 32 n. *ut quaeque optime morata est.* With *igitur* he returns to the discussion of the subject. A neuter pronoun (*illud*) is used in Latin, referring to what is to come afterwards, where in English we say "the point," "the question," "the statement," "the fact." — **48, 2. desiderata sit**: The word implies a longing for a thing with a sort of affection, or regret at being deprived of anything.

48, 3. dandis recipiendisque meritis: Gerundive, ablative of means. — **48, 4. minus posset**: So often without *facere;* cf. De Orat. II. 20, 86 *nam neque is, qui optime potest, deserendus ullo modo est a cohortatione nostra neque is, qui aliquid potest, deterrendus.* — **48, 5. an esset**: We should expect *sit,* corresponding to *desiderata sit* l. 2; but *esset* is used because of the imperfect subjunctives intervening. Translate: "or whether this is essential no doubt (*proprium quidem*) to friendship, but," etc. — **48, 6. alia**

causa is the nominative. The last six words end with the same sound; cf. 16, 25 n.

48, 9. ab iis, "*from* those," not "*by* those" (denoting the agent of the action). — **48, 10. simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa**: The chiasmus is to be noticed. — **48, 12. et, quidquid est** etc.: The Latin often connects by a copulative, where we use an adversative conjunction; here "there is no pretence, *but* everything is sincere," etc.

27 **48, 13. potius quam** is almost equal in force to "and not," whereas *magis quam* merely compares the two terms, "the first in a greater degree than the second." — **48, 14. adplicatione animi** (ablative of means), "by a direction of the mind," *cum quodam sensu*, "joined to a feeling of affection." *quodam* softens a somewhat unusual expression in Latin, but is not necessary in English. — **48, 16. illa res** refers to the formation of a friendship just described, not to *amicitia*.

48, 16. Quod refers to *adplicatione animi cum quodam sensu amandi*, which he proceeds to illustrate by the natural affection of animals for their offspring. The first three words begin with the same sound; compare 16, 25. — **48, 18. ex se natos,** "their young." — **ad quoddam tempus,** "up to a certain time," that is, De Nat. Deor. II. 51, 129, *usque ad eum finem, dum possint se ipsa defendere.*

48, 20. ex ea caritate, quae est inter natos et parentes, "from the affection between children and their parents," "parental and filial affection." Compare this expression with 45, 4 n. *cum benivolentia consensio.* The two relative clauses, *quae est* etc. and *quae dirimi* etc., have no connective; but they are not logically co-ordinate; the first refers to *caritate*, the second to *caritate quae est . . . parentes* taken together. Cf. 25, 8 n., where the relative clauses are co-ordinate and still have no connective.

48, 22. similis sensus, i. e. *similis ei caritati, quae est inter natos et parentes.* — **48, 23. cuius . . . congruamus**: Instead of saying: "with whose character our own character (*nostri mores*) agrees," he says: "with whose character *we* agree;" the form of expression is called *comparatio compendiaria*, or abridged comparison. — **48, 24. quasi lumen aliquod,** lit. "some, as it were, lamp," "something of the light of honesty and virtue." We take *lumen* to be merely "the light," "the brightness;" not, as some commentators think, "the guiding light."

48, 25. perspicere videamur: If the writer had said *quod*

perspicimus, "because we see," he would have stated simply a fact; *quod perspiciamus* would be "because we see, *as we think*;" *quod perspicere videmur*, "because we think we see;" now the Latin, from the same feeling that suggested the subjunctive in *quod perspiciamus*, very often put the verb of thinking in the subjunctive, *videamur*, although the *thinking* is an actual fact. Compare the common example given in the grammars, De Off. I. 13, 40; the messenger returned to the camp of Hannibal *quod se oblitum nescio quid diceret;* it would seem to us more logical to say *quod nescio quid oblitus esset* or *quod nescio quid oblitus erat, ut dicebat;* but the subjunctive *diceret* is used by a sort of assimilation.

28 **48, 29. C. Fabrici, M'. Curi**: See 7, 29 n. — **48, 30. memoriam usurpet**: *usurpare* is "to take into use;" *memoriam usurpare*, "to take into use the recollection," "to call to mind." — **48, 31. quos numquam viderit**, concessive subjunctive, "although he has never seen them;" compare this with l. 28 *eos, quos numquam vidimus.* — **48, 32. Tarquinium Superbum**: De Rep. II. 26, 48 *quo neque taetrius neque foedius nec dis hominibusque invisius animal ullum cogitari potest.* — **Sp. Cassium** *Vecellinum:* The patrician *Sp. Cassius* proposed the first agrarian law in his third consulship, 486, and was killed on suspicion of aiming at the supreme power in the state. **Sp. Maelium**: See 24, 8 n.

49, 2. Pyrrho: Pyrrhus treated the Roman prisoners kindly, and released them in 278 after Fabricius had informed him of the treachery of his physician. He was always regarded by the Romans as a generous foe; Hannibal, on the contrary, was bitterly detested; see 31, 19 n. *crudelissimus hostis.*

CHAPTER IX.

29 **49, 6. vel . . . vel** are probably not correlative (compare 48, 28 *etiam eos, quos numquam vidimus*), but independent, the first emphasizing *in eis*, the second merely connecting *in eis* and *in hoste;* "even — or, if you please." — **49, 8. si . . . moveantur**: The present subjunctive represents the action as contingent, possible; *quid mirum, si moventur* would have been almost a statement of a general truth, "no wonder that they *are* moved." — **49, 9. quibuscum possunt**, being a simple description, has

the verb in the indicative; **cum videantur** is an essential part of the idea *si moveantur*, hence the subjunctive. It is not the same case as in 48, 25 *perspicere videamur.*

49, 11. Quamquam, "*correctivum;*" see 1, 7 n. — **49, 13. motum animi** is too general an expression, and hence is explained by *et amoris;* that first movement of the mind, which is one of affection. — **49, 14. admirabilis quaedam**: *quidam* annexed to a word gives it primarily an idea of vagueness; if a quality is vague, it may be so in excess or in deficiency, so that *quidam* in many cases seems to give emphasis to the word; *admirabilis quaedam,* "really astonishing." De Orat. I. 50, 218 *fateor callidum quendam hunc et nulla in re tironem ac rudem esse debere;* and with substantives Ep. ad Fam. XVI. 12, 2 *amentia quaedam,* "a real madness;" Tusc. Disp. V. 10, 29 *turba quaedam,* "a whole crowd." See 39, 9 n. *alio quodam modo,* where the pronoun softens the expression. — **benivolentiae magnitudo**: See 45, 16 n. *verborum magnificentia.*

49, 16. quisque would, according to our idiom, be placed with *adsequatur*, but is in Latin put in the relative clause, which, however, generally precedes the other. — **49, 17. generosum,** "high-born," applied to persons; applied to *ortum amicitiae* it would be forced unless it were excused by *ut ita dicam.* Tusc. Disp. II. 6, 16 *quaedam generosa virtus;* Brut. 75, 261 *forma magnifica et generosa quodammodo.* — **49, 18. quam . . . volunt** is almost unnecessary; it serves to explain and emphasize *ab inbecillitate proficisci* (l. 15). *velle* is often used in the philosophical works for "to hold the opinion;" De Div. II. 9, 24 *vultis evenire omnia fato.* — **49, 19. ut quisque**: The apodosis begins here.

49, 24. suaque omnia in se ipso posita: See 39, 23 n.; and above l. 20 *minimum esse in se.*

49, 25. Quid enim, "What?" introducing an absurd question to strengthen the argument.

49, 27. sed ego: The predicate, *eum dilexi,* must be supplied from the next clause, *ille me dilexit.* So De Rep. VI. 9, 9 *Deinde ego illum de suo regno, ille me de nostra re publica percontatus est.* — **49, 28. eius,** possessive genitive depending on *virtutis.* Notice the contrasts in the sentence: *admiratione quadam,* "a real admiration," *opinione fortasse non nulla,* "an idea perhaps not entirely unfavorable;" *virtutis eius,* "his worth," *meis moribus,* "my personal character." — **49, 29. dilexit** has the force of an aorist, "conceived a liking for" me; cf. below 50, 14 *diligere coeperunt.*

49, 32. causae profectae: Strictly speaking, we should say that the hope of advantage *was* the cause of loving, not that the causes of loving *came from* (*profectae*) the hope; but the pleonasm is not uncommon; Liv. XXXII. 34, 7 *Ab illis principium belli ortum est;* Cic. Cat. IV. 6, 11 *Versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi.*

31 **50, 1. exigamus**: *exigere* is the word for "collecting" or "exacting" money, as *faenerari* is for "taking usury," the last being a term of reproach.

32 **50, 5. Ab his**, neuter, "from these views;" the antecedent of *qui* is the subject of *dissentiunt.* The Epicureans are those, according to Cicero, *qui . . . referunt.* — **50, 8. suspicere,** "look up to," opposed to *cogitationes abiecerunt,* "have lowered their thoughts." — **50, 9. contemptam,** with the meaning of a verbal adjective in *-ilis;* see 12, 3 n. *contemptior.*

50, 11. sensum diligendi is here equivalent to *sensu amandi* (48, 15); cf. 74, 12 n. *amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum diligere.* Brut. I. 1, 1 *valde me diligit vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat.* — **50, 12. benivolentiae caritatem**: Compare 45, 4 *benivolentia et caritate;* 48, 30 *caritate benivola.*

50, 13. adpetiverunt also describes a momentary action, "have conceived a desire for;" see 49, 29 *dilexit.* — **adplicant se et propius admovent**: A ὕστερον πρότερον, giving more prominence to the more important idea, *adplicant se.* — **50, 15. pares,** "equal in degree," **50, 16. aequales,** "equal in kind" of love. — **bene merendum — reposcendum**: Cf. 48, 3 *dandis recipiendisque meritis.* — **50, 17. haec,** for *hoc,* feminine by attraction to *certatio,* which is a predicate-nominative.

50, 19. gravior, "more dignified." — **50, 20. conglutinaret**: See 30, 21 n.

50, 23. Ortum quidem etc.: One of the forms of *transitio,* or passing to the next point; it is interrupted, however, by *nisi . . . vultis,* giving an opportunity for remarks from the listeners. — **50, 25. vero,** "by all means," i. e. we have nothing to suggest.

33 — **50, 27. tu quidem**: See 40, 6 n. *Recte tu quidem.*

CHAPTER X.

50, 31. Quamquam, "Although" (we were not quite in agreement on all points, for). At the end of the last section Laelius

had said *verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt*, which might be true in a philosophical sense; but Scipio looked at the matter as a man of the world.

51, 2. idem sentiretur: *idem sentire*, "to hold the same opinions." — **51, 3. saepe** probably qualifies *mutari*. — **51, 4. aetate ingravescente**: So we speak of "the weight of years."

51, 5. exemplum ex similitudine ineuntis aetatis, lit. "example from the likeness," "example from the analogy afforded by early life." *iniens aetas* is the same as *adulescentia*, the age from sixteen to thirty (see 3, 4 n. *adulescentiae senectus*), "the beginning age" of one's life. — **51, 7. praetexta toga**: See 1, 4 n.
34 *virili toga*. — **sin**, "but if," is not always preceded by another conditional clause, but it introduces a supposition contrasted with something just mentioned. — **ad adulescentiam** is not "up to the beginning of the *adulescentia*" alone, but it includes a part of the *adulescentia* itself, as the context shows. **51, 8. perduxissent**, scil. *illi* (referring to *pueri*) *amores suos*. **dirimi**, scil. *amores*, subject accusative; the change of subject is somewhat abrupt. — **51, 9. condicionis**: The formula of separation was *condicione tua non utor*. *contentione condicionis*, "quarrel *about* a marriage," obj. gen.; see 1, 13 n. *quarum consolatio*. — **quod** is probably a conjunction.

51, 11. labefactari, scil. *amores*; a similar change of subject to that in l. 8. — **51, 12. honoris**, "official position." — **pestem**, "curse;" it is rarely used in the sense of *pestilentia*. — **51, 14. pecuniae cupiditatem . . . honoris certamen et gloriae**, avarice and ambition, two things fatal to the Roman state. Sall. Catil. 10, 3 *Igitur primo* (at the end of the third Carthaginian war) *imperi, deinde pecuniae cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere*. **in optimis quibusque**: The singular would be expected here, *in optimo quoque*, were it not that the cases referred to are naturally those of pairs or groups of persons.

35 **51, 17. plerumque iusta**, "*generally* just," because it may *sometimes* happen (60, 20) *ut minus iustae amicorum voluntates adiuvandae sint*. — **aliquid** is explained by the clause *ut . . . iniuriam*. For the form of the sentence compare 2, 5 n. *cui qui pareat*, where the relative serves as a connective of two clauses, but belongs, not to the second of these two clauses, but to another clause depending on it (here *qui recusarent*). — **51, 20. honeste**, "rightly," on abstract grounds; the *honestum* is contrasted with *ius amicitiae*, what is right taking into account the claims of friendship.

51, 26. inpendere, lit. "to hang over," and **subterfugere,** "to get from under," "escape from," are strictly correlative in sense. — **51, 27. ut . . . diceret . . . videri** = *ut . . . videretur ;* the verb of saying is not necessary, because the whole sentence depends upon a verb of saying; and the fact that so many dangers threaten friendship (l. 26) has for a consequence, not that *he said* it seemed to him, etc., but that it really seemed to him, etc. Compare the example above 48, 25 n. *perspicere videamur.*

CHAPTER XI.

36 **51, 29. id** is defined by *quatenus . . . debeat ;* it is omitted in English, though generally inserted in Latin; "Let us first inquire how far," etc. So 40, 9 *hoc posse contingere, ut* etc.; 44, 21 *Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos.*

51, 31. Coriolanus, after the capture of Corioli, excited the fear and dislike of the common people by his haughty bearing. He took refuge among the Volscians, and promised to assist their king, Attius Tullius, against the Romans; but finally, yielding to the entreaties of his wife and his mother with other Roman matrons, he led back his army. Liv. II. 40, 10 *abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio leto.*

51, 32. Vecellinum, Maelium: See 48, 32 n. — **52, 1. regnum adpetentem,** "aiming to make himself king." Scipio answered the Hispani who wished to give him the title of king (Liv. XXVII. 19, 4) *Regium nomen, alibi magnum, Romae intolerabile est.*

37 **52, 2. quidem,** as in 46, 27 *Agrigentinum quidem,* laying emphasis on this particular example. — **vexantem**: *vexare* is a very strong word, *grave verbum,* says Gellius, II. 6, 5, who thus explains it as used by Cato: *vexatam Italiam dixit Cato ab Hannibale, quando nullum calamitatis aut saevitiae aut immanitatis genus reperiri queat, quod in eo tempore Italia non perpessa sit ;* applied to Gracchus it describes his political agitations tending to the utter overthrow of the state. — **52, 3. Q. Tuberone**: *Q. Aelius Tubero* was nephew of the younger Scipio, and opposed the measures of both the Gracchi.

52, 4. C. Blossius, a philosopher from Cumae, is said to have had great influence upon Tib. Gracchus. In 132 *P. Rupilius* and

P. Popilius Laenas, consuls for that year, were directed to make inquiry into the disturbances of the preceding year with a view to punish those who had taken part in them. To avoid the prosecution Blossius fled to Aristonicus, then a pretender to the kingdom of Pergamos; and upon the defeat of the latter by the Romans, he put an end to his own life. — **52, 5. aderam in consilio**: *adesse in consilio*, "to be present as an adviser," "to be one of the advisers." — **52, 7. hanc . . . causam adferebat,** "offered this as a reason for my excusing him;" *hanc* is attracted into the case of *causam*.

52, 9. Etiamne, scil. *tibi faciendum putavisses*, supplied from the preceding *ut . . . putaret*. — **52, 12. Videtis** does not govern the next clause *quam . . . vox*, which is an exclamation; "You see—what an infamous sentiment!" Compare 72, 11 *meministis . . . quam popularis lex . . . videbatur*. *esse* is often thus omitted in short questions and exclamations.

52, 15. hac amentia: The commentators are not agreed whether this is an abl. abs., abl. caus., or abl. qual. From comparison with other similar phrases it seems more probably to be an ablative absolute; 58, 5 *illa superbia;* 74, 18 *nulla indigentia;* Pro Quinct. 18, 59 (*Quinctius*) *antiquam officii rationem dilexit, cuius splendor omnis his moribus* (*his* = *qui nunc sunt*) *obsolevit;* Sall. Bell. Iug. 4, 7 *at contra quis est omnium his moribus, quin* etc. The construction is due to the fact that there was no present participle of the verb *esse*.

52, 20. opinio is an idea, impression, which one has of a thing without positive knowledge. — **52, 23. perfecta sapientia** is the ideal philosophical wisdom and goodness; see 44, 8 n. *sapientem*. — **52, 24. nihil habeat res vitii,** "there would be no harm in it." — **qui ante oculos sunt, quos videmus**: *videmus* is the reading of almost all the MSS., but has been changed, unnecessarily as we think, to *vidimus* by nearly all the editors except Lahmeyer, Reid, and Schiche; Mommsen prefers *videmus*. — **52, 26. Ex hoc numero,** i. e. *ex horum numero;* cf. 31, 1 *eam mentionem*.

39 **52, 28. Videmus,** i. e. "We know." — **52, 29. Papum**: *Q. Aemilius Papus* and *C. Fabricius Luscinus* were consuls in 281 and 278, and censors in 275. — **52, 31. tum,** "then," passing on to another point.

53, 5. sanctissimi viri, as we say, "*thoroughly* conscientious men."

53, 8. C. *Papirius* **Carbo,** a very clever but unscrupulous man,

and one of the ablest adherents of Gracchus. He was one of the commission of three to distribute the public lands; and, when tribune in 131, proposed a law *ut eundem tribunum plebi, quoties vellet, creare liceret.* He subsequently gave his adhesion to the aristocratic party, but was nevertheless prosecuted for the part he had taken in the Gracchian troubles, and put an end to his own life. **C.** *Porcius* **Cato,** a grandson of Cato the Censor, was a man of far less importance. — **tum quidem** etc.: The passage is difficult and the text uncertain. The greater number of commentators, omitting *acer*, place a comma after *frater* (Müller and Schiche have none), and make *minime* qualify *sequebatur* supplied from the preceding clause. The sense would then be: Carbo and Cato followed Tib. Gracchus, and least of all at that time his brother Caius, the same who is now most zealous. Others (Madv. Opusc. Acad. II. p. 281; Reid in loco) supply *acer* with *minime*, and *sequebatur* with *Caius frater;* the sense would then be: There followed Tib. Gracchus Carbo, Cato, and his brother Caius, not at all zealous at that time, but now exceedingly so. In this way *nunc idem acerrimus* is not adequately rendered. We have placed *acer* in the text after *quidem* (the Erfurt MS. has *acer* after *minime*), and separated *nunc idem acerrimus* from the rest, rendering: There followed Tib. Gr. Carbo, Cato, and his brother Caius, by no means zealous at that time; now he is (or the same man is) most zealous.

CHAPTER XII.

40 **53, 14. Etenim** etc.: See 7, 17 n. *Etenim.* Translate: "And we are, in fact, in such a position," etc., i. e. we and our political friends. — **53, 15. longe,** not "from afar," but "far in advance."

53, 16. spatio is the whole space of the race-course, **curriculo** the track of the chariots; but this phrase is probably to be taken loosely for "the track."

41 **53, 18. vel** often introduces a correction of what precedes, "or in fact." — **quidem** is commonly taken as emphasizing *is*, "to give greater prominence to the subject;" but the emphasis is really on *regnavit*, "he actually reigned;" *quidem*, although belonging to *regnavit*, is attached to *is;* see 11, 25 n. *quidem.*

53, 21. in P. Scipione: The reading rests upon the sole

authority of the Paris MS. The commentators are not agreed as to which Scipio is here referred to, *Africanus minor* or *P. Scipio Nasica*. The objection to the former explanation is that the passage would thereby conflict with the very cautious expression in regard to the death of Africanus in 41, 20; and several MSS. have *nasicam*. — **53, 22. non queo**: So Cicero always writes, never *nequeo*. — **Carbonem**: See above l. 8. **quocumque modo potuimus,** "in the best way we could," scil. *sustinere*. — **53, 24. sustinuimus,** "we have endured," "put up with;" the *optimates* did not venture at that time to bring him to trial, for fear of the popular feeling already sufficiently aroused by the murder (*poenam*) of Tib. Gracchus. — **tribunatu,** "a (possible) tribunate;" he was not tribune until 123.

53, 25. Serpit id in dies, resque proclivis etc.: The reading of the MSS. is *serpit deinde res quae* etc., which is evidently corrupt. The reading given in our text for want of a better one is an emendation of Schiche. *id* and *res* both refer to the evil of which the speaker is complaining, the increasing power of the populace. *Serpere* is said of anything which goes on unperceived; *ad perniciem labitur*, "falls," "rushes on to destruction," can, of course, only be said of *res* in a pregnant sense, including the idea of carrying everything else along with it.

53, 27. in tabella: The *Lex Gabinia*, passed in 139, enacted that voting at elections, which had before been done *viva voce*, should take place by ballot; the *Lex Cassia*, 137, made the same provision for the judicial trials. These laws rendered it possible for a person to deposit his vote without allowing its contents to be known to others; the *nobiles* in this way lost one great means of controlling the elections. De Leg. III. 15, 34 *Non latebra danda populo, in qua, bonis ignorantibus quid quisque sentiret, tabella vitiosum occultaret suffragium.*

53, 29. videor, scil. *mihi*. **populum** must be understood of the mass of the people as distinguished from the senate and the party of the optimates (*senatu*).

42 **54, 4. in magna aliqua re publica,** "in some great public affair;" but the text is not certain, and the recent editions generally omit *publica*. — **54, 7. impietatis** is "unfaithfulness," "disloyalty" to one's country as well as to the gods or one's parents.

54, 8. imperator, στρατηγός, i. e. of the Athenians; the commander-in-chief at the battle of Salamis was Eurybiades. —

54, 11. fecit idem, "*but* did the same thing." — **54, 12. Coriolanus**: See 51, 31 n.

54, 14. mortem etc.: Historians are not agreed as to the manner of death of either Themistocles or Coriolanus.

43 **54, 15. excusatione amicitiae,** "excuse of friendship," excuse drawn from friendship; as above 51, 5 *similitudo ineuntis aetatis;* see also 1, 13 n. *quarum consolatio.* — **54, 16. supplicio omni,** "with extreme punishment;" *omnis* is often thus used with *supplicium, cruciatus, exemplum.* — **54, 18. haud scio an,** "I am inclined to think," "I almost fear;" see 24, 13 n.

CHAPTER XIII.

44 **54, 28. acriter,** lit. "sharply;" we should say "with decision;" not "harshly," for in 71, 6 he says *libere facere, non aspere;* and 70, 21 *monitio acerbitate careat.*

45 **54, 29. Nam,** "For," introduces a confirmation of the preceding rule in the form of a refutation of two opposite views. **quibusdam,** i. e. the school of Epicurus and that of Aristippus of Cyrene. — **54, 30. audio sapientes habitos**: The same affectation of ignorance of Greek philosophy noticed before. — **placuisse opinor mirabilia,** lit. "I think that extraordinary views pleased," i. e. I think that the views which they held were extraordinary. — **54, 32. persequantur argutiis,** "split hairs about;" cf. 44, 1 *qui haec subtilius disserunt.* **partim,** corresponding to *Alios,* 55, 8, refers to *quibusdam,* not to *mirabilia quaedam.* — **nimias,** lit. "excessive;" "too intimate." — **55, 1. necesse sit**: We should rather expect the imperfect tense, as depending on *placuisse;* but the sequence is often varied in the oratio obliqua, and here the parenthesis *sed* . . . *argutiis* has interrupted the train of thought; moreover, in stating opinions of philosophers a writer often treats them as present and of universal application. — **55, 2. satis . . . rerum,** "that every one has enough and more than enough to do with his own personal affairs;" *sibi* strengthens *cuique.* — **55, 4. quam laxissimas,** not "as loose as possible," but "as free as possible," i. e. so that you can "draw them in" (*adducas*) or "let them out" (*remittas*) with ease. Cicero perhaps had in mind the verses of Euripides, Hippol. 256, *εὔλυτα δ' εἶναι στέργηθρα φρενῶν | ἀπό τ' ὤσασθαι καὶ ξυντεῖναι.*

— **55, 5. adducas — remittas**: Potential subjunctive, with an indefinite subject, as in 46, 1 *quoquo tē verteris.* — **55, 6. securitatem** (*se*, "without," and *cura*), the ἡδονή consisting, according to Epicurus, in a complete freedom from any disturbing influence (*tuto et sine metu vivere*). — **55, 7. unus** is not the subject, but in apposition with the subject of *parturiat* (*animus*).

46 **55, 8. Alios,** the Cyrenaic philosophers. — **dicere**: The present inf.; they speak *now* through their works. — **inhumanius** (*in homo*), "more unfeelingly," "in a way more repugnant to our feelings as human beings." — **55, 9. paulo ante**: in § 26. — **55, 11. itaque,** "and so." — **55, 12. haberet**: See 55, 1 n. *necesse sit;* the tense might here be explained by the fact that *dicere*, on which the sentence depends, is virtually equivalent to *dixisse;* but *quaerant* and *putentur* in the next sentence are present. Compare 33, 1 n. for a similar change. — **55, 13. mulierculae**: Diminutives may refer not only to size, but to value, to force, etc.; here "helpless women." — **55, 14. inopes** and **opulenti,** not exactly "poor" and "rich," but those having or not having *opes*, "resources," including, of course, wealth.

47 **55, 16. Solem** etc.: So 46, 8 *secundas res splendidiores facit.*

55, 20. multis locis, "in many respects." — **55, 25. bonitas malitiam**: As three of the cardinal virtues are evidently alluded to, *bonitas* takes the place of *iustitia* corresponding to *iustos* (l. 27); so *temperantia* corresponds to *modestos* (l. 28), and *fortitudo* to *fortes.*

48 **55, 30. cadit in sapientem,** "falls to the lot of the *sapiens.*" **55, 31. qui profecto cadit,** in English, "as it assuredly *does.*"

56, 4. truncum aut saxum, "stock or stone." These terms were common in Latin to express stupidity; compare Ter. Heaut. V. 1, 3 *in me quidvis harum rerum convenit, Quae sunt dicta in stultum: caudex, stipes, asinus, plumbeus;* so Hom. Od. XIX. 163 οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός ἐσσι παλαιφάτου, οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης.

56, 5. isti, i. e. the Stoics. — **56, 6. quasi** and **quandam** both serve to soften the epithet *ferream* as applied to *virtutem.* — **56, 7. volunt**: As in 49, 19. — **56, 9. diffundatur,** scil. *virtus.* The MSS. have *diffundantur* and *contrahantur*, which in nearly all the editions are changed to the singular. The text is probably corrupt; taking it as it stands, *virtus* must be the subject. After thinking of *virtus* as "harsh," "almost like iron," "tender," and "yielding," we easily pass to the idea of the mind or heart of the person in whom *virtus* dwells, which is expanded (*diffunda-*

tur) or *rejoices* at the good-fortune of a friend, is contracted (*contrahatur*) or grieved at his troubles. A cheerful expression of face is sometimes called *frons diffusa*, a gloomy one *frons contracta.*

56, 11. non tantum valet, "is not of sufficient importance." —**56, 12. non plus quam ut virtutes . . . repudientur**: The construction is curiously changed at this point. As the sentence stands the sense is: The pain we often have to suffer on a friend's behalf is not so important that we should banish friendship from our life, any more than that we should renounce virtue on account of the trouble and annoyance attending it. But the pain we suffer for a friend has nothing to do with our renouncing virtue; it is the trouble and annoyance attending the practice of virtue that might induce us to renounce it; and this idea would be expressed more logically thus: *angor iste, qui . . . est, non tantum valet, ut tollat* (scil. *angor iste*) *e vita amicitiam, non plus quam curae et molestiae* (*valent*), *ut virtutes repudientur.* Probably in writing the sentence Cicero had in mind after *non plus quam* some expression such as *consentaneum est;* Müller suggests instead the vague idea of *valere* after *quam*, with no definite subject. Translate: "any more than the virtues are to be rejected because they bring some troubles and annoyances."

CHAPTER XIV.

56, 14. Having finished the refutation of the theory of the Epicureans (54, 32 *partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias* etc.) Laelius passes on to that of the Cyrenaics (55, 8 *Alios autem* etc.). — **contrahat** has for its subject the clause *si qua . . . eluceat.* — **supra,** i. e. 48, 22 ff. — **56, 15. significatio virtutis**: Compare 50, 12 *facta significatione probitatis.* — **56, 16. adplicet et adiungat**: So 50, 13 *adplicant se et propius admovent.*

49 **56, 18. inanibus**: Müller accepts a correction of Victorius, *inanimis*, for *inanibus*, the reading of all the MSS., thinking it hardly credible that Cicero wrote *inanes res* and *animans* (l. 19) in contrast with each other; Schiche has *inanimis.* We have restored the old reading. It is not the fact that *honor*, *gloria*, etc. are *inanimate*, but the fact that they are *inanes*, incapable of bringing solid happiness, that should prevent our setting our

affections upon them (*admodum delectari*); and the contrast is between these and *animante*, the reasoning being, not simply as being endowed with life, but with all the qualifications which follow, *virtute praedito* etc. — **56, 19. animante**: *animans*, "a reasoning being," is masculine; *animans*, "an animal," feminine.

56, 20. eo qui: *eo* is in apposition with *animante; is qui* is frequently so added to express an additional characteristic, or simple remark about the antecedent; in such cases there should be no comma after *is*. Compare 5, 6 *Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit;* 15, 5 *P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit.* — **56, 21. redamare** is a word coined after the Greek ἀντιφιλεῖν, and its use is excused by *ut ita dicam.*

56, 23. studiorum is the zeal, interest, of one who wishes us well; **officiorum,** the kind offices done from a sense of duty.

50 **56, 23. Quid, si** (= *Quid dicetis, si*) is a rhetorical formula for introducing a point in a more vivid manner.—**56, 26. quam ad amicitiam similitudo**: Logically, we should expect "as likeness in character attracts friendship to itself" (A. Brieger, Progr. Posn. 1873, p. 8, proposes to omit *ad*); instead of this the result is given, *ad amicitiam.* So Hom. Od. XVII. 218 ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

56, 28. propinquitate atque natura, "natural relationship;" ἓν διὰ δυοῖν. — **56, 29. similium** is neuter; so 50, 5 *Ab his;* see 2, 6 n. *de ceteris.*

56, 31. constet, "may be considered as settled," not "let this be considered as settled;" so De Fin. III. 6, 20 *Sic* (*aestimabile*) *enim, ut opinor, appellemus;* Acad. II. 9, 29 *Sed de inconstantia sit, ut opinor, dictum satis.* — **necessariam,** scil. *esse.* — **56, 32. qui**: Attraction of the relative, so called, which regularly occurs when the relative clause forms a sort of parenthesis, and the predicate substantive (*fons*) is prominent in the mind.

57, 3. inmunis, "disposed to do nothing for others." — **quae . . . soleat,** (being of such a nature) "that it is wont," etc. The clause adds, not the *reason* of what precedes, but a *quality* which belongs to *virtus.*

51 **57, 5. Atque etiam**: Another formula to introduce a point with emphasis.—**57, 6. qui utilitatum causa fingunt amicitias,** "who conceive friendships (to be formed) for the sake of the advantages (they bring);" *utilitatum causa* must be taken with *amicitias*, not with *fingunt.* For *fingunt* compare 44, 6 *quae finguntur.*

57, 11. tantum abest, ut, "so far from."—**57, 13. indigeant:** The subjunctive (unless *indigent* be the true reading) by attraction to the mood of the clause on which it depends.

57, 15. haut sciam an is less positive than *haut scio an*, but both incline to an affirmation of the clause depending upon them. The force of the sentence is: "I am almost inclined to think that it is not even well that our friends should never be in want of anything." *opus esse* is here "to be expedient;" as in De Off. III. 11, 49 Themistocles said he had a plan, *sed id sciri opus non esse.*

57, 16. Ubi = *Qua in re.* — **57, 18. Non igitur** etc.: The order gives emphasis to *non;* the force is better given in English by changing the construction; "It was not therefore that friendship followed upon expediency, but," etc. So *Non* in l. 20.

CHAPTER XV.

52 **57, 20. deliciis diffluentes,** lit. "flowing apart," "becoming softened," "enervated by luxury;" the Epicureans are alluded to. Tusc. Disp. II. 22, 52 *liquescimus fluimusque mollitia.* — **57, 21. usu,** "by experience," **ratione,** "by reason;" practically and theoretically.

57, 23. ut . . . diligat = *ea condicione ut diligat,* depending on *circumfluere,* which depends on *velit.* The chiastic arrangement is to be noticed, *diligit quemquam, ab ullo diligatur;* and in the next clause *circumfluere copiis, in abundantia vivere. ut . . . diligatur* is the Latin paraphrase of the Greek μήτε φιλῶν μήτε φιλούμενος: the difference of construction is due to the want of a present passive participle in Latin.

57, 27. stabilis is probably to be taken with *benivolentiae;* cf. 65, 7 *amicitiae stabiles,* 67, 24 *stabilitas amicitiae.*

53 **57, 31. Coluntur** refers to the external marks of respect, interest, or affection. — **ad tempus,** "for the time."

58, 1. Quod refers to the contents of the preceding sentence, and is further explained by *tum se intellexisse* etc., which repeats the idea of the preceding sentence in a particular instance. *Quod* may be translated "Just as," since English usage would not admit the relative. *tum exsulantem* is the reading of the MSS.; Müller, following the proposal of Madvig, changes to

exulantem, *tum* on the ground that Cicero would not have written the sentence so that the verb *intellexisse* should be qualified by three expressions of time, *tum—exsulantem—cum . . . posset;* but the point of time is important and emphatic, and *cum . . . posset* merely adds a description.

54 58, 5. **illa superbia et inportunitate**: See 52, 15 n. — **amicum** is in apposition with *quemquam*.

58, 8. **praepotentium** is in apposition with *multorum;* Cicero is probably thinking of Crassus.

58, 10. **efficit caecos**: So Menander (Schol. Theocr. Idyl. X. 19) ὁ πλοῦτος τυφλόν, Τυφλοὺς δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβλέποντας δεικνύει. **quos conplexa est,** "whom she has embraced," "holds in her embrace;" we speak, too, of "a child of fortune." — **58, 11. fortunato,** used as substantive, is qualified by the adjective *insipiente;* Arist. Rhet. II. 16 ἀνόητος εὐδαίμων.

58, 14. **imperio,** military power of the consuls, praetors, and propraetors; **potestate,** civil authority.

55 58, 18. **vestem egregiam** includes the coverings and carpets of the house, if, as Müller thinks, it does not refer to these exclusively; the mention of "clothing" seems strange between *famulos* and *vasa*, and in l. 20 below we have the term *supellex*. — **amicos non parare**: Notice the asyndeton; in English, "*and* not to make provision of."

58, 22. **qui vicit,** "who is the stronger." *Vincere* is sometimes thus used absolutely in the sense of "to be the stronger;" *vincit sententia*, *vincat utilitas*. — **58, 25. ab amicis,** not "by friends," but lit. "from the point of view of friends," "in regard to friends;" so *inops ab amicis*, *imparati a militibus*.

CHAPTER XVI.

56 58, 27. **Constituendi autem sunt** etc., "But we must determine exactly the limitations and, so to speak, the landmarks of affection in the matter of friendship." In § 36 in. the question was proposed *quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat*, how far we may rightly go in gratifying or aiding a friend; after a digression Laelius returns to consider the question. *Termini* were the stones set up to mark the boundaries of estates. The construction of the sentence is very peculiar, being a mixture of

two constructions: *Constituendum est, qui sint fines* and *Constituendi sunt fines, qui sunt in amicitia.* The former would be more natural if the point were introduced here for the first time. Cf. 61, 12 *Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves.*

58, 28. tres sententias ferri, "that three opinions are currently held;" compare the phrase *sententiam ferre,* "to cast one's vote." — **58, 29. unam,** that of Epicurus, who held (De Fin. I. 20, 68) *Quocirca eodem modo sapiens erit affectus erga amicum, quo in se ipsum. unam (sententiam)* is followed by *ut* with the subjunctive as if it were a precept. — **58, 32. pariter aequaliterque:** See 50, 15 n. *pares et aequales.*

57 **59, 2. nulli prorsus adsentior,** not "I do not wholly agree with any one," but "I do not agree with any one at all;" *prorsus* strengthens the negative.

59, 3. Nec would naturally correspond to another *nec* introducing the second point; but the construction is changed at l. 12 *Altera sententia est.* — **ut** with the subjunctive is to be explained as above 58, 29.

59, 9. multaeque res etc.: *que* introduces the summing up of the preceding remarks, "and indeed;" so 63, 24 *suosque omnes,* 64, 5 *omnisque,* 74, 24 *Quoniamque.* — **59, 12. potius quam,** as in 48, 13 n., excludes *ipsi,* "our friends and not ourselves."

58 **59, 12. sententia, quae definit** may be compared with 13, 31 *proverbio, quod monet. definit (finis),* "limits" (the duty of) friendship to (the exercise of) equal kindnesses and affection on both sides; but *officiis* is of course ablative (limits by), as Tusc. Disp. V. 26, 73 *malum dolore definire, bonum voluptate.*

59, 14. ad calculos vocare (= *ad calculos referre*), "to make a matter of calculation;" *calculi* were the pebbles used in teaching children arithmetic.—**59, 15. ratio acceptorum et datorum,** "the account of favors received and conferred." The expression was suggested by the common phrase *ratio accepti et expensi,* "account of income and expenditure;" and an account-book was called *tabulae* or *codex accepti et expensi.*

59, 16. Divitior et affluentior, "richer and fuller." *affluere aliqua re* is "to be richly provided with a thing" ("a land flowing with milk and honey"); *affluens* is probably used here absolutely in the same signification. But some commentators take it in the sense of lit. "more flowing to," "more generous." — **59, 17. acceperit,** not *accipiat,* as in English "give more than

it gets;" the Latin is more exact in the use of the tenses. — **59, 18. excidat, defluat, congeratur,** as if one were measuring corn or wine.

59 **59, 21. quanti quisque . . . faciat:** Here the subjunctive *faciat;* above l. 1 the indicative *quanti quisque . . . facit.* — **59, 23. fortunae** refers here to all the external conditions of life; *amplificandae fortunae,* "of getting on in the world."

59, 24. eum and **ille** refer to the same person; *eum* refers to him as described in the preceding sentence (*in quibusdam*), *ille* is stronger and brings out the contrast with *se.* Cf. 26, 7 *illi—huius;* Post red. ad Quir. 1 *posteaquam vos me illi et mihi eum reddidistis.* — **59, 25. eniti et efficere, ut . . . excitet,** lit. "to strive and bring it about that he may rouse," "to try in every possible way to rouse." — **59, 26. inducat in spem:** The best MSS. omit *in;* but the reading in the text is now generally adopted after the analogy of the phrases *in errorem, in fraudem, in amorem inducere;* so De Off. II. 15, 53 *quae te ratio in istam spem induxit;* cf. 9, 26 *in memoriam redeo mortuorum.*

59, 30. eius, qui dixisset need not be translated in English; we say "the remark that" so and so; but the accusative with the infinitive in Latin is not often joined directly to a substantive, as *vocem, ita oportere* etc. — **59, 31. esset osurus:** The subject is continued from the indefinite one of *amare;* "that it was fitting for *one* to love just as if he were sometime to hate." The proverb was: *ὡς δεῖ φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντα καὶ μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντα;* it was generally ascribed to Bias, by some, however, to Chilon, both of them among the "seven wise men." — **se adduci posse** depends upon a verb of saying supplied from *Negabat* l. 29.

60, 7. ansas: So in English "handles" for fault-finding. **60, 9. invidere:** The zeugma is to be noticed; *dolere commodis* (abl.), *invidere commodis* (dat.).

60 **60, 11. praecipiendum fuit,** "ought to have been laid down as a rule," i. e. by the author of the maxim in question; see 42, 28 *fuerat aequius.* So **adhiberemus** (imp. subj.) is used with regard to the time when the maxim was uttered; *adhibeamus* would make the application present, general. — **60, 12. in amicitiis comparandis,** not "forming" in the sense of *coniungendis,* but in that of *parandis,* "acquiring;" so 58, 18 *amicos parare.* Solon said: *φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ, μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε.*

60, 14. in diligendo: The MSS. excepting P have this reading; P has *deligendo,* which has been adopted by nearly all the editors.

CHAPTER XVII.

61 **60, 17. emendati,** one of the participles which have become adjectives, "free from fault." The character here described is that of those who would ask nothing from a friend (53, 2) *quod contra fidem, contra ius iurandum, contra rem publicam esset;* or of those who (53, 11) *neque rogant res turpes nec faciunt rogati;* and the present section must be read in connection with those passages.—**60, 23. est enim, quatenus,** lit. "for there is (a point) as far as which;" "for up to a certain point."

60, 24. Nec vero neglegenda est fama etc.: The sense of the passage is as follows: In yielding to the *minus iustae voluntates amicorum* on the one hand one must not neglect his own reputation (*fama*), on the other hand he must remember that the good will of our fellow-citizens (*benivolentia civium*), which is gained by such devotion to the interests of a friend, is an important aid in one's own public career (*ad res gerendas*); but it is disgraceful to secure this by flattery and base acts; while the virtuous conduct (*virtus*) of one who exerts himself for his friend with all regard for what is right, which brings with it the affection of others (*caritas*), is not to be disregarded. *telum*, "weapon," is used in a tropical sense, as often in English.

62 **60, 29. cuius omnis sermo** etc., "whose whole conversation was about friendship;" as we say, he was always talking about it. The construction differs therefore from 39, 2 *cuius tota disputatio est de amicitia*, where *cuius* depends on *est*. — **60, 32. dicere posse**: *posse* depends on a verb of saying supplied from *querebatur*, if not upon *querebatur* itself. — **amicos quot haberet**: The asyndeton is noticeable, as in the next line *in amicis eligendis*. — **61, 3. signa** are "signs" from which one can draw inferences; *notae* are primarily "brands," "marks," which can be seen. The expression *signum et nota* is one of Cicero's translations of the Greek κριτήριον: hence the use of *quasi* and *quaedam*, "so to speak." — **61, 5. constantes**: See 40, 6 n. — **cuius generis**: See 5, 15 n.

61, 6. nisi expertum, lit. "except having tried;" "unless one has made trial;" a participle qualifying the indefinite subject of an infinitive (*iudicare*) is put in the accusative. — **61, 7. in ipsa amicitia,** "even in friendship." *ipse* lays emphasis on the word with which it agrees. *Marcus ipse fecit* may, however, mean two

different things; either *Marcus* did it, as distinguished from every one else; or *Marcus* did it, a thing which you would not have expected *him* to do. In the first case we translate "Marcus himself did it;" in the second, "Even Marcus did it." The position of *ipse* before or after the substantive is not material; the force must be gathered from the context.

63 **61, 10. quo utamur** etc.: The text is corrupt, and has never been satisfactorily amended. As it stands we may translate: "in order that we may enjoy (*quo utamur*) friendship after making trial of the characters of our friends (*periclitatis moribus*) in some measure, as we do horses after trying them."

61, 12. Quidam . . . perspiciuntur quam sint leves, "Certain people are seen through, how unreliable they are," *in parva pecunia*, in small money-matters. The construction is not quite equivalent to "It is seen how unreliable some people are," *perspicitur quam sint leves quidam;* but *quam sint leves* is an explanation of *perspiciuntur*. *saepe* in Latin is sometimes inserted in a clause where the full force can only be given by making a separate clause for it; "it often happens that some persons," etc.

61, 14. Sin: See 51, 7 n. — **61, 15. sordidum** denotes here "low-toned," what is beneath a *liberalis* and *ingenuus*. — **61, 17. imperia, potestates**: See 58, 14 n. *imperio*. — **61, 19. ius amicitiae,** "the rights, just claims of friendship." — **illa** refers to the same antecedents as *haec* (l. 18); but *ius amicitiae*, after being once mentioned, is nearest to the mind. Cf. 29, 4; 40, 19. — **Inbecilla,** Engl. "too weak." — **61, 21. neglecta amicitia,** "by the disregard of, or by disregarding, friendship;" the main idea is contained in the participle. See 5, 5 n.

64 **61, 26. graves,** heavy to bear, **difficiles,** difficult to carry through. — **61, 27. societates**: The abstract noun in the plural; see 25, 18 n. *proceritates*.

61, 28. Quamquam Ennius recte: The connection of thought in this period is obscure. Many commentators take *Quamquam* as "*correctivum*," = "however," so that *tamen* (l. 31) would introduce a further limitation; others consider *Quamquam* and *tamen* correlative, "Although" . . . "nevertheless," which seems preferable. Laelius has spoken at length in the course of the section of the effect of prosperity, and at *Quid?* (l. 26) of the effect of adversity. He then adds: Although Ennius rightly says that a real friend is known when we are in trouble; yet in both respects light-minded and weak persons fail, in casting off

their friends when they themselves are prosperous, and in deserting them in their misfortunes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

62, 2. ex . . . genere, lit. "one from the rarest kind;" in English, "we must consider him to belong to the rarest class of men."

65 **62, 6. eius**: The position of the pronoun makes it emphatic, to draw attention to the limitation annexed to it, *quam . . . quaerimus;* it is not in apposition with *stabilitatis* and *constantiae*, but limits and agrees with them. The comma is therefore rightly placed after *eius*, not before as in 56, 20 n. *eo qui*, and 15, 5 *is qui*.

62, 7. Simplicem is opposed to *multiplex ingenium et tortuosum* l. 10, and denotes "straightforward," free from double-dealing and concealed motives. **62, 8. communem** is "putting one's self on the footing with another," "companionable," without any assumption. **consentientem,** "looking at things in the same way," "having the same interests," as he goes on to define. — **qui . . . moveatur**: The subjunctive because the clause describes the *consentientem*. — **62, 9. quae omnia,** "all of them qualities which," etc.; see 5, 15 n.

62, 16. fit verum, lit. "becomes true;" "the truth of the proposition (*illud*) becomes evident." — **initio**: In § 18.

62, 18. eundem, "also;" see 32, 7 n. *et eam quidem vitam*. — **sapientem,** not in the strict Stoic sense, but in that which we employ *in usu vitaque communi;* cf. § 18. — **haec duo,** "these two principles;" as above 61, 31 *haec duo*, "these two circumstances." **tenere,** "to hold fast," as *tenere propositum, cursum* etc. As the phrase *haec duo tenere* involves the idea of a precept, it takes the construction *ne quid fictum sit;* this is however changed at *repellere*, l. 22. — **62, 23. aliquid** is the subject of *esse violatum*, "that some wrong has been done." But in *violare aliquid* the accusative is not the common object accusative, but a sort of cognate accusative; compare Pro Rosc. 26, 71 *cetera, quae violata sunt, expiari possunt*, not the laws or rules, which have been violated, but "the violations which have been committed, can be expiated."

66 **62, 26. Tristitia** is a gloomy manner, opposed to *remissior*

below; Quint. Inst. Or. XI. 3, 79 *tristitia deductis, hilaritas remissis superciliis ostenditur.* — **62, 27. illa quidem**: See 27, 26 n. *illius quidem.*

CHAPTER XIX.

67 **62, 32. vetulis,** "that are growing old," the diminutive of *vetus* with an idea of contempt; **teneros,** "young."

63, 2. satietates: The plural of the abstract noun where we use the singular, "surfeit in our friendship as in other things;" see 25, 18 n. *proceritates.* — **63, 3. quae vetustatem ferunt,** as we say in English, "which bear keeping." — **63, 4. illud, quod dicitur,** "the common saying." — **63, 5. multos modios** etc.: So Arist. Ethic. Eudem. VII. 2, p. 1238 *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄνευ πείρας οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὁ φίλος, ἀλλὰ χρόνου δεῖ· διὸ εἰς παροιμίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁ μέδιμνος τῶν ἁλῶν.*

68 **63, 6. Novitates,** "New acquaintances;" so in English "novelties" for "new things." — **spem, ut . . . appareat**: *spes* and *spero* are generally followed by the accusative with infinitive expressing the object of the hope; but, as the hope implies a *wish*, *ut* with the subjunctive is very natural, although it almost never occurs until after Cicero. In De Off. II. 15, 53 *Quae te ratio in istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles putares fore?* the construction is influenced by *induxit.* — **63, 8. vetustas** still retains the abstract meaning of "oldness;" "old acquaintance." — **63, 10. Quin ipso equo,** "Nay, even the horse," etc. *ipso equo* stands alone at the beginning of the sentence waiting for the governing verb to come after (*utatur*); but after the clauses *cuius . . . mentionem, si . . . impediat* it is forgotten, and recalled in *eo* l. 12. **quo consuevit,** scil. *uti.* — **63, 12. intractato**: *equum tractare* is to handle, break, train a horse, *μεταχειρίζεσθαι.*

63, 13. Nec vero in hoc: Here *modo* or *solum* must be supplied, *Nec . . . solum, sed . . . etiam;* the omission is not very common when the first member is to be included in the assertion.

63, 15. montuosis etiam et silvestribus, "even when they are mountainous and rugged;" the Romans had none of our love for mountain scenery.

69 **63, 17. maximum est,** "it is a most important thing." — **parem esse,** with indefinite subject, "that one in higher position should be able to put himself on an equality with."

63, 18. excellentiae, "points of superiority," or, as many understand it, "superior characters." — **63, 19. grege,** lit. "herd," as of animals, is used with the qualification "so to speak." In English we could not use the corresponding word, but translating *grege* by "circle" we may omit *ut ita dicam.* But in Epist. ad Attic. I. 18, 1 we find *ad forum stipati gregibus amicorum descendimus;* and *grex philosophorum* was a common expression; the word often had an association of contempt.

63, 20. Philo: See 42, 12. — **Rupillo:** See 52, 6. — **Mummio,** not the conqueror of Corinth, but his brother Spurius. — **63, 21. inferioris ordinis,** in a political sense, friends who were not of consular rank. — **Q. Maximum:** *Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus* was the eldest son of L. Aemilius Paulus, and was adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus, as his brother was adopted by Scipio, son of the first Africanus. — **63, 22. omnino,** in a concessive sense, "certainly," "no doubt." **sibi nequaquam parem,** "*but* by no means equal to himself;" asyndeton adversativum. — **63, 24. suosque omnes . . . ampliores,** "that all his friends should be able to make their way by his help" (*per se*). Müller proposes to translate *per se* "so far as he was concerned" (seinetwegen) after the analogy of the expression *per me licet;* but the next sentence seems to require *per se* to be taken as implying some active assistance. *esse ampliores* is "to be in higher position," influence, reputation; cf. 59, 23 *spes amplificandae fortunae.*

70 **63, 25. Quod** refers to the preceding clause, but is further defined by what follows; cf. 58, 1 n. *Quod.* We have here in succession three *ut* clauses; the first, *ut . . . proximis,* explanatory of *Quod;* the second, *ut . . . dignitati,* giving the purpose of the first; the third (l. 31), *Ut in fabulis,* introducing a comparison ("As, for instance"). — **63, 29. inbecilliore . . . fortuna,** "of a less enterprising spirit or in more humble circumstances." — **63, 30. eisque honori sint:** The general usage would suggest the translation "may be an honor to them," may do them honor; but the sense is evidently different. *honori esse* seems to be used here in the sense of *honori servire,* lit. "to be of service to their honor," "to help them to honor and dignity." Comp. De Orat. I. 8, 34 *Quam ob rem in id studium incumbite, ut et vobis honori et amicis utilitati et rei publicae emolumento esse possitis.*

63, 31. fabulis includes myths as well as dramas. — **63, 32. stirpis et generis,** "their family and their race;" *genus* is the more general, the class of beings to which they belonged, the

royal race. — **64, 1. cum cogniti sunt,** "when once they have been recognized."

64, 4. veris patribus certisque, "real and recognized parents." A man was said to be *patre incerto* when his parentage was not known.

CHAPTER XX.

71 **64, 8. in amicitiae coniunctionisque necessitudine,** "in the relation of friendship and family connection." — **64, 9. exaequare se,** "to put themselves on a *complete* (*ex*) equality."

64, 11. Quorum, "*But* of these;" adversative connection; see 4, 7 n. *Qui.*

64, 16. is, in quem conlata sunt, "the receiver;" *is, qui contulit,* "the giver." The thought often occurs with the ancients; Demosth. de Coron. 269 *νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. Τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν.*

72 **64, 19. sic quodam modo inferiores extollere:** This is the almost universal reading of the MSS.; and the question arises whether *inferiores* is subject (*inferiores se extollere debent*) or object (*sic superiores quodam modo inferiores* [accus.] *extollere debent*). The train of thought is more natural in the former interpretation; but to supply *se debent* from the preceding clause is somewhat forced. Perhaps it is better to insert *se* before *extollere*, for which there is very slight MS. authority.

64, 20. cum ipsi se contemni putant, "from the fact that *they* have an idea that they are slighted;" *ipsi*, they themselves, not their more fortunate friend. *cum* temporal often occurs as here with indicative, when the action of the verb is in substance the same with that of the leading verb, and is only another way of regarding, or another effect of, the same action; the tenses are the same (*cum coincidens*).—**64, 22. contemnendos,** "deserve to be slighted." The two relative clauses, *qui . . . arbitrantur* and *qui . . . levandi sunt,* are to be noticed, the latter depending on the former, as if it had been *qua opinione . . . levandi sunt,* "a fancy of which they should be disabused," etc.

73 **64, 25. ille . . . sustinere,** scil. *possit.*

64, 26. Non . . . neque tu possis would naturally be followed by a second *neque* and a parallel clause; but after the intermediate clauses the construction is changed at *Quodsi* l. 29. The negative *non* is not neutralized by *neque . . . neque* following in the same sentence; and in translating this passage we may omit *neque*, as there is no correlative *neque* following. — **64, 28. perducere**: *producere* is "to help forward," *perducere*, "to help through," with an idea of difficulty and completeness. — **64, 29. non potuit,** "while he could not," etc.; again the asyndeton adversativum.

74 **64, 32. Omnino,** "In general." — **corroboratis . . . aetatibus** is to be taken as ablative absolute, not as "ablative of measure" after *iudicandae;* "friendships are to be judged (that is, we are to judge whether the claims and obligations of friendship really exist in any particular case) when characters are strengthened and settled by mature age;" a companionship in youthful sports is not to be considered as constituting a friendship. The participles *corroboratis* and *confirmatis* can hardly be applied to *aetatibus*, as it is the *character* that is "strengthened" as age *increases; aetatibus* may therefore be translated by some other turn of expression.

65, 2. eos habere necessarios: After *iudicandae sunt* l. 1, "must be judged," the writer has in mind the idea of necessity, and so uses the infinitive *habere* as if some such verb as *oportet* had preceded. So De Fin. II. 31, 103 *Quodsi dies notandus fuit, eumne potius, quo natus, an eum, quo sapiens factus est? habere* is here "to treat" them as intimate friends.

65, 4. paedagogi were the attendants, generally slaves and persons of trust, who had charge of the young and accompanied them everywhere; they were very highly esteemed, although not treated in after-life as friends. — **65, 5. postulabunt,** "*would* claim," conditionally according to the English idiom, the condition being given in *Isto modo.* — **65, 6. quidem,** concessive, "certainly," "of course." — **65, 7. aestimandi**: The MSS. here have *est*, which Mommsen has emended to *aestimandi.* The emendation gives a passable sense for this sentence. But Lahmeyer (in loco) is no doubt right in thinking that something has been lost from the text, since there is no logical connection between *Aliter . . . possunt* and either of the preceding sentences.

65, 8. Dispares . . . sequuntur, "For different interests are developed in (follow) unlike characters;" i. e. as the differences

of character develop with age, they lead to different interests and pursuits. Müller takes both *mores* and *studia* as nominatives with a comma after *mores*, "For unlike characters, unlike inclinations follow, are developed," i. e. as one grows older.— **65, 10. nec ob aliam causam ullam,** "and it is for no other reason that," etc.

75 **65, 15. Nec** corresponds to *Et*, l. 19.—**65, 16. Neoptolemus,** the son of Achilles, had been brought up by his maternal grandfather, Lycomedes, in the island of Scyros; he was brought to Troy by Ulysses because, according to the oracle, the city could not be taken without the aid of Neoptolemus and Philoctetes. —**65, 18. impedientem,** "attempting to impede;" compare 6, 2 n. *dividenti.*

65, 19. magnae res, "important interests," the same as *magnas utilitates* above, such as great enterprises to be undertaken.— **65, 20. quod . . . ferat:** Cf. 2, 12 n. *quod . . . ferat.*

CHAPTER XXI.

76 **65, 25. quaedam calamitas,** "something that amounts to misfortune," "a real misfortune;" see 49, 14 n. *admirabilis quaedam.* — **65, 28. delabitur,** "comes down to," not "passes on to;" Part. Orat. 4, 12 *aut a minoribus ad maiora ascendimus, aut a maioribus ad minora delabimur.*

65, 29. quorum, i. e. *vitiorum in alienos erumpentium; ad amicos redundat infamia,* because *noscitur ex sociis, qui non cognoscitur ex se.*—**65, 30. redundet:** The subjunctive, because the clause describes the *vitia.*

65, 31. Catonem dicere audivi, not "I heard Cato say," but "I have heard that Cato used to say."—**65, 32. dissuendae . . . discindendae,** "allowed to drop rather than broken off violently;" compare De Off. I. 33, 120 *amicitias . . . magis decere . . . sensim diluere quam repente praecidere.* — **quaedam:** See above 65, 25 n. *quaedam calamitas.*—**66, 1. exarserit,** lit. "shall have broken out like a fire." **neque rectum** and **neque honestum** correspond to each other, and together correspond to *nec fieri possit.*

77 **66, 3. aut morum** and **aut studiorum** correspond to each other, and together correspond to *aut . . . intercesserit.*—**66, 5. in rei publicae partibus,** "in the case of parties in political life,"

"in public life." — **66, 9. susceptae,** "taken up," i. e. with deliberate intention.

66, 11. Q. Pompei: He had promised, according to Plutarch, to aid Scipio in procuring the election of Laelius to the consulship; he broke the promise, however, and obtained the election for himself, 141 B.C. **meo nomine,** "on my account." — **66, 14. Metello**: *Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus*, the conqueror of Macedonia in 148, was chief among the *obtrectatores et invidi Scipionis*, those who were jealous of the influence and position of Scipio, gained by his victory over Carthage; he is called here *collega* as belonging to the same *collegium*, that of the augurs. — **auctoritate,** the reading of the MSS. is difficult to explain. If taken alone, which is perhaps possible, the idea would be "in accordance with, as became, his personal position and influence;" if taken with *acerba* the whole expression *auctoritate . . . acerba* may be translated "without making his personal influence and his displeasure offensive (or wounding)." Neither of these explanations is satisfactory; and the word is by many editors placed in brackets.

78 **66, 17. exstinctae,** allowed to burn out, as a flame does when nothing remains to be burned. — **66, 18. oppressae,** i. e. with violence. Cf. 30, 4. — **vero,** "nay," "indeed," emphasizing the caution. — **66, 20. maledicta** (*male-dicere*), in the etymological sense; **contumeliae** is stronger, and implies insult.

66, 22. in culpa sit: Compare the expressions *in vitio*, *in morbo*, *in iniustitia*, *esse*.

66, 24. Omnino: See 64, 32 n.; 31, 25. — **66, 25. cautio est**: The verbals in *-io* with the verb *esse* often convey an idea of possibility with the verbal meaning; "there is but one way possible of avoiding and providing against these faults," etc. — **66, 26. incipiant**: The subject may be supplied from the end of the preceding sentence, *is*, *qui faciat* and *is*, *qui patiatur*.

66, 28. Rarum genus, scil. *est;* not in apposition with what goes before. — **Et quidem** concedes the truth of what was just said; "Quite true, but so are all excellent things rare." The homoioteleuton is to be noticed. — **66, 31. neque** corresponds to *et* l. 32.

80 **67, 2. maxume naturali**: Many of the adjectives in *-alis* have no terminational comparative and superlative. — **67, 3. per se,** "by itself," without regard to any other object; **propter se,** "on account of itself," the motive operating in the mind of the seeker.

67, 7. Quod nisi idem, "And unless this same thing." — **67, 9. alter idem**: The expression was proverbial; Porphyr. on Hor. Carm. I. 3, 8 *φιλία ἐστὶ μία ψυχὴ ἐν δυοῖν σώμασιν.*

81 **67, 10. bestiis** is defined by two sets of adjectives, *volucribus*, *nantibus*, *agrestibus*, and *cicuribus*, *feris*, three and two. — **67, 15. cum quadam similitudine,** "with something very like," etc. — **quanto . . . natura,** "how much more natural is this in the case of man!"

CHAPTER XXII.

82 **67, 19. perverse** means "wrongly," as a matter of judgment, **inpudenter,** "without any feeling of modesty," which belongs to the character.

67, 22. ipsum, "one's self;" the attribute or predicate adjective is in the accusative, when the subject of the infinitive is indefinite. — **67, 23. similem sui,** "exactly like;" the genitive after *similis* denotes a much closer resemblance than the dative, "a counterpart."

67, 26. serviunt, "are devoted to;" not so strong as *servi sunt*, "are slaves to," for we find such expressions as *honori*, *gloriae servire.* **imperabunt**: The future is admissible, as the *stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest* only gradually and after a certain time. — **67, 28. suscipiet**: The plural is more common in Cicero after *alter pro altero* and similar expressions. — **67, 30. verebuntur** expresses a feeling of respect and delicacy that would avoid pressing a request, or anything like presumption.

83 **68, 1. lubidinum,** "unbridled desires," but not so much with reference to sensual desires as to whatever strikes one's fancy (*libere*). — **68, 2. patere licentiam,** as we say "that a *gate* is open." — **virtutum amicitia adiutrix**: *amicitia* is not the emphatic word here, but is thrown in between the two important words *virtutum* and *adiutrix.* — **68, 4. ea, quae summa sunt,** not "its highest perfection," but objectively "to that which is the highest end of life," the *summum naturae bonum* of the next sentence.

68, 6. si quos inter: Anastrophe, to bring the pronoun nearer to *si.* — **68, 7. futura est,** "is destined to be;" see 3, 27 n. *si futurum est; erit* would denote simple futurity. **eorum est habendus**: After the preceding clause, "if such companionship exists," we

should rather expect *is est habendus*, "that is to be considered;" instead of that we have *eorum*, as if *inter quos haec societas* went before. The same turn of expression occurs in 65, 1. — **summum naturae bonum,** considered subjectively, is εὐδαιμονία, happiness.

84 68, 9. **insunt,** "are present as integral parts;" so 66, 27 *in ipsis inest causa, cur diligantur*, they deserve to be loved for what they are themselves. — **68, 10. expetenda,** "worth seeking;" so 48, 1 *considerandum*. **honestas** (*honor*), "honor." — **tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas** (*animi* qualifies both): Cicero's own desire was *in negotio sine periculo, in otio cum dignitate esse.* — **68, 11. adsint** is in the subjunctive, not because of *cum* temporale, but because of the logical relation to the subjunctive clause on which it depends. — **68, 12. esse**: The predicate adjective is to be supplied.

68, 12. **Quod** refers to the general idea of the preceding sentence. — **68, 16. tum se denique**: *tum* and *denique*, being both emphatic, are separated by a less important word, *se;* as above *virtutum amicitia adiutrix.*

85 68, 19. **cum iudicaris, diligere oportet** etc.: Senec. Ep. 3, 2 *Post amicitiam credendum est, ante amicitiam iudicandum. Isti vero praepostere officia permiscent, qui contra praecepta Theophrasti, cum amaverunt, iudicant, et non amant, cum iudicaverunt.*

68, 20. **neglegentia plectimur,** "we are punished for," "we pay the penalty of, our negligence" (abl. caus.). — **68, 22. praeposteris** is "reversed," that being behind which should be before; *praeposteris utimur consiliis*, "we deliberate at the wrong moment" (see the last quotation); Προμηθεὺς μετὰ τὰ ἔργα, in German "vorgethan und nachbedacht." *acta agimus* is an expression taken from the courts, *ubi, quod semel iudicatum est, frustra iterum agitur.*

68, 23. **ultro et citro** (not *ultro citro* in Cicero), "mutually." — **68, 24. officiis,** "services rendered."

CHAPTER XXIII.

86 68, 27. **Quo** (= *et eo*) **etiam magis . . . incuria,** "And so much the more even is so great negligence to be censured in a thing of the highest necessity," as the matter is one of the highest necessity. There is the same relation between *magis vituperanda*

and *maxime necessariae* as between two superlatives, one introduced by *ut*, the other by *ita*, a construction which was discussed in 26, 32 n. *ut quaeque optime morata est;* the more necessary the thing is, so much the more is carelessness in regard to it to be censured.

68, 30. Quamquam etc.: The sentence begins: "Although virtue itself by many is thought of no account," etc., as if the conclusion were to follow directly "yet all persons agree about friendship;" but in making several remarks about riches, honors, and other things, the writer drops the thread of the sentence, and at 69, 5 he states the conclusion *de amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt* (without *tamen*) as if it were not the antithesis of what goes before. The commentators, however, generally take *Quamquam* as merely corrective of what precedes; Madvig and Baiter omit *Quamquam;* Seyffert proposed *Quoniam.* — **68, 31. venditatio**: *venditare* is "to offer repeatedly for sale," then to use the language adapted to selling a thing, "to boast." — **ostentatio,** first the act of showing, then the thing shown; "a matter of show," "a vain display." — **69, 1. vero,** strongly emphasizing *honores*, "honors indeed," "even *honors*." — **69, 7. rerum cognitione doctrinaque,** "scientific investigation," a sort of hendiadys. — **69, 8. otiosi**: See 21, 2 n. An *otiosus* may still be a busy man, *suum negotium gerens.* — **69, 10. vitam esse nullam,** "that life is no life," not worth the living; compare 4, 5 n. *vitam nullam.* — **69, 11. liberaliter,** "as a free man (*liber*) should live."

87 **69, 11. Serpit,** literally "creeps," but here with no idea of stealthiness, "permeates;" cf. 53, 25 n. — **69, 12. aetatis degendae rationem,** method of passing life; *vitae* or *vivendi genus* corresponds to our "condition in life."

69, 14. inmanitate naturae, literally "savageness of nature," or in English "savage disposition;" see 45, 16 n. *verborum magnificentia.* — **69, 16. Timonem**: Timon was a contemporary of Socrates and Alcibiades, a type of the μισάνθρωπος. Laelius adds *nescio quem* in a contemptuous way. — **pati . . . ut**: *pati* generally has an accusative with infinitive following, to suffer or bear that a thing *is* so; but here there is an idea of allowing, permitting a thing to happen. So in De Off. III. 5, 22 *natura non patitur, ut aliorum spoliis nostras facultates, copias, opes augeamus.*

69, 19. aliquis nos deus: Again the two emphatic words separated by an unimportant one. — **69, 20. hac,** "this," in the

midst of which we are. — **69, 22. abundantiam et copiam**: The pleonasm brings out more strongly the contrast with *hominis omnino aspiciendi potestatem*. *omnino* is better taken with *eriperet*, "completely take away the power of seeing our fellow-men;" others take it with *aspiciendi*, "the power of even seeing our fellow-men."

69, 24. ferreus . . . ferre . . . auferret: The alliteration is noticeable. — **cuique**: By means of *que* the second relative clause is made co-ordinate with *qui . . . posset*, both depending on *tam ferreus;* compare this with 48, 20 n.

88 **69, 26. Archyta**: See 16, 31 n. — **69, 28. aliis**, i. e. of a former generation. — **69, 29. naturam mundi**, "the constitution of the universe." — **69, 31. quae**, "and yet it," "while it;" see 4, 7 n. — **si aliquem** is stronger than *si quem;* "if he had had *some one person*."

70, 2. quod . . . dulcissimum est, "and of this, the nearer the friend, the greater the charm."

CHAPTER XXIV.

70, 6. usus amicitiae, "friendly intercourse." — **70, 8. elevare**, "to lift up," "to lighten the weight of," "to disregard." — **una illa sublevanda offensio est**, "that offence above all must be taken easily," "taken lightly," "made little of," namely, that which comes from advice and reproof between friends (l. 10 *nam et monendi . . . fiunt*); the clause *ut et utilitas . . . retineatur* denotes the purpose of *illa sublevanda offensio est*. *una* is "especially;" *illa*, "that one," to be defined by the sentence *nam et monendi* etc. *sublevanda* is the reading of the MSS., and offers some difficulty; Madvig, followed by several others, proposed *subeunda*, "the offense must be endured." — **70, 11. haec**, neuter plural, referring generally to *monendi* and *obiurgandi*.

89 **70, 12. Andria**, "The Andrian woman," is the title of one of the six plays of Terence; the quotation is found in I. 1, 41. Terence (195–159), born at Carthage, the slave and afterwards the freedman of P. Terentius Lucanus, enjoyed the friendship of Laelius and Scipio to such an extent that they were said by some to have aided him in writing his plays. — **70, 14. Obsequium** is in classical Latin "complaisance," "deference," and may be

used also in a bad sense for "servility," "flattery;" **in later writers** it occurs in the sense of "obedience."

70, 19. in fraudem inpellitur, "is driven into, becomes a victim of, self-deceit." So De Off. I. 26, 91 *cavendum est, ne assentatoribus patefaciamus auris neve adulari nos sinamus, in quo falli facile est.*

70, 20. habenda ratio is common, but *adhibenda diligentia* is a more usual phrase; so that we have here a sort of zeugma.— **70, 21. monitio** is said to a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Cicero. — **contumelia** is *iniuria existimationem alterius laedens eumque in contemptum adducens.* — **70, 22. Terentiano verbo,** "the same word that Terence used;" not a word first used by Terence, as Quintilian, VIII. 3, 35, thinks. — **70, 24. non modo etc.:** See 14, 31 n. — **70, 25. libero**: The use of the adjective alone in this case is unusual.

90 **70, 28. illud,** "the familiar one," one of the ἀποφθέγματα, *breviter et commoda dicta* (37, 7).

71, 3. quod contra oportebat, scil. *fieri,* "whereas they ought to do the contrary;" cf. 35, 18 n. *quod contra decuit. quod* refers in a vague way to what precedes.

CHAPTER XXV.

91 **71, 7. sic habendum est**: *sic* is probably to be taken as correlative to *Ut* at the beginning of the sentence.

92 **71, 12. omnium rerum simulatio,** "pretending anything whatever." — **71, 14. idque adulterat,** "and falsifies that," namely, *verum,* the truth. — **71, 15. nomen amicitiae,** "the *idea* of friendship," or here "friendship" itself; whereas *vis amicitiae* (l. 16) is "the essence of friendship."

71, 16. unus quasi: So in 67, 18 *paene unum ex duobus.* — **71, 18. unus idemque,** not "one and the same," where one expression merely strengthens the other. Here each has its own force; *unus,* "one," in which there is no contradiction, nothing *multiplex; idem semper,* "always the same," never changing.

93 **71, 23. Negat quis**: The condition with no conditional particle; "If any one says No, I say No."—**imperavi mihi,** "I have made it a rule for myself." The quotation is from Terence, Eunuch. II. 2, 21, where the parasite Gnatho is speaking; the

metre is trochaicus septenarius, in which spondees and dactyls may replace trochees, and the long syllable of the arsis may be resolved into two shorts." — **71, 26. quod amici genus adhibere** etc., "a sort of friend, which it is sheer levity to take to one's self."

94 **71, 27. similes,** used substantively, "counterparts." — **71, 28. vanitatem** (*vanus*), "emptiness," "shallowness."

95 **71, 32. Contio** was an ordinary public meeting. — **72, 1. inter** is sometimes repeated with both substantives. **popularem** denotes, from the point of view of the *optimates*, a politician of the people, a demagogue. Pro Sest. 45, 96 *qui ea, quae faciebant quaeque dicebant, multitudini iucunda volebant esse, populares . . . habebantur;* Cicero here describes him also as an *adsentatorem*, i. e. *ad voluntatem loquentem.*

96 **72, 3. C. Papirius** *Carbo:* See 53, 8 n. — **72, 4. influebat in auris,** lit. "flowed into the ears," "gained the ear" of the assembly.

72, 5. Dissuasimus, scil. *legem.* — **nos, de me**: The singular and plural pronouns are often thus used indiscriminately, referring to the speaker or writer.

72, 7. illa gravitas, "that dignity," "his dignity on that occasion." — **72, 9. diceres** might have been used without the *ut;* "you would say."

72, 11. Q. Maxumo: See 63, 21 n. — **72, 12. consulibus,** in 145 B.C. **quam . . . videbatur** is independent of *meministis*, hence the indicative; cf. 52, 12 *Videtis, quam nefaria vox!* — **72, 13. C. Licini Crassi**: When tribune of the people he proposed a law providing that the *cooptatio*, the right of filling vacancies in their own *collegia*, should be transferred from the corporations of the priests to the popular assembly. — **72, 14. ad populi beneficium,** "to become a gift at the disposal of the people." — **72, 15. atque** adds something of importance, as in 70, 31 *Atque illud absurdum.* — **in forum versus**: The rostra, from which the speakers addressed the people, stood between the *comitium* and the *forum* in the restricted sense; hitherto the speakers had faced the *comitium* and the senate-house when speaking; Cicero says that Crassus was the first to introduce the new custom.

72, 16. agere cum populo: See 38, 9 n. — **vendibilem,** lit. "easily salable," and therefore "acceptable;" not in a bad sense, equal to our "venal." — **72, 17. religio deorum,** "reverence for the gods."

72, 19. re, "by the thing" itself, i. e. by its own inherent goodness. — **72, 20. auctoritate,** "the weight of position" which I should have exercised if I had been consul.

CHAPTER XXVI.

97 **72, 21. scaena** is not here the dramatic stage, but, as is directly explained (*id est in contione*), the *contio* itself, which is frequently spoken of as *scaena*, the stage or the world of political life, which centred in the forum. So De Orat. II. 83, 338 *Fit autem, ut, quia maximo quasi oratori scaena videatur contionis, natura ipsa ad ornatius dicendi genus excitemur.* — **rebus fictis et adumbratis,** things invented and vaguely stated (*adumbratis*, sketched in outline only, so as not to be clear); "falsehoods and partial statements." — **72, 23. inlustratum,** "lighted up," "made clear."

98 **72, 32. Omnino,** concessive, "no doubt."

73, 3. de virtutis opinione, "of the idea which a person has of his own virtue."

73, 4. praediti esse quam videri, scil. *praediti esse*, "to be (really) endowed with virtue as to seem to be so;" Aeschyl. Sept. c. Theb. 573 *οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει.*

73, 10. nisi essent milites gloriosi, "unless there were braggart soldiers," in allusion to the comedy of Plautus entitled *Miles Gloriosus;* but the quotation is from the Eunuchus of Terence, III. 1, 1, where Thraso asks the parasite Gnatho how the courtesan Thais had received a present he had sent her.

73, 11. Magnas . . . mihi, "Did Thais really thank me much?" The nominative with the infinitive as in the construction of the historical infinitive. The metre is the common Iambicus senarius.

99 **73, 16. blanda vanitas:** We should reverse the relation; "empty flattery."

73, 20. excors, "without any mind;" so *concordes* when the minds agree. Tusc. Disp. I. 9, 18 *Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur, ex quo excordes, vaecordes concordesque dicuntur.* — **73, 24. det manus,** as the gladiators extended their hands in acknowledgment of defeat; "lays down his arms." — **73, 25. plus vidisse,** "to have seen more" (into the matter), "to have understood the matter better."

73, 28. Ut me hodie . . . lautissume, "How you'll have twisted me around your finger to-day and made game of me most beautifully more than all the silly old men in the play!" If the passage is taken as an exclamatory question, it will be: "Is it possible that you have" etc. The quotation is from a play of Caecilius Statius, as Cicero says in 15, 21, if he is there referring to the same play.

100 **73, 31. improvidorum . . . senum** is added as an explanation; "this is the most silly character on the stage too, I mean that of" etc.

74, 2. defluxit: Cf. 65, 28 *delabitur.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

74, 6. conciliat et conservat: So in 45, 13 *virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet.*

74, 7. convenientia rerum, "harmony," leaving *rerum* untranslated.—**74, 13. diligere, quem ames**: The definition sounds as if *diligere* were a general, and *amare* a special term; this is, however, not the case. The Latin has no single terms to translate exactly the Greek ἔρως and φιλία, and for φιλεῖν Cicero uses sometimes *amare*, sometimes *diligere. Amare* suggests rather love as a passion, *diligere* love founded on choice and esteem; but the distinction is not carefully observed in use. Ep. ad Fam. IX. 14, 5 *Tantum (amoris) accessit, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse.*—**nulla indigentia,** abl. abs., lit. "there being no feeling of want," "with no regard to needing anything." See 52, 15 n.

101 **74, 16. Paulum, Galum**: See 40, 16.—**74, 17. P. Nasicam**: *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* was the son-in-law of the elder Africanus, consul in 162 and 155, censor in 159; he was father of Nasica Serapio, who murdered Tib. Gracchus.—**Ti. Gracchum,** father of the two tribunes, and husband of the famous Cornelia, daughter of the elder Africanus. His daughter Sempronia married Africanus the younger. He was censor in 169.—**74, 19. L. Furium**: See 42, 12.—**74, 20. Rupilium, Mummium**: See 63, 20.

74, 21. adquiescimus, lit. "we rest," "we take a quiet pleasure."—**74, 22. Q. Tuberonis**: See 52, 3.—**74, 23. P. Rutili**: *P. Rutilius* Rufus was noted as a jurist and lover of Greek philos-

ophy, and (De Orat. I. 58, 229) *exemplum innocentiae, quo nemo neque integrior fuerit in civitate neque sanctior.* He was fellow-student of law with *A. Verginius*, of whom nothing further is known, under Q. Mucius Scaevola.

74, 27. e carceribus ad calcem: See 35, 3 n.

102 **74, 28. res humanae,** "all earthly things." — **74, 31. est sublata**: The perfect to denote the finished action; when affection has been taken from life, pleasure has been taken away too by that very fact.

75, 5. animo aut spe maiora suscipiet, "will aim at or hope for the greater (prizes in life)."

104 **75, 19. recordatio et memoria,** "the vivid recollection;" *recordatio* is the calling to mind of a thing with an interest in it.

75, 21. nec corresponds to *et* in l. 23; *aluntur*, belonging to the first part of the sentence, is connected to *exstincta sunt* by *que*, although it is logically opposed to it. — **75, 24. adfert,** not *adferret* in the form of a consequence, but indicative, as stating an actual fact.

75, 27. Haec habui etc.: Compare the conclusion of Cato Maior. — **75, 29. ut . . . putetis**: In 43, 28 he says *ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis;* here it is to be ranked second to *virtus*.

VARIATIONS FROM THE TEXT OF MÜLLER.

CATO MAIOR.

§ 4. 2, 32 *adeptam* — *adepti* M.
§ 12. 6, 15 *ita cupide* — *ita tum cupide* M.
§ 13. 6, 17 *Quorsus* — *Quorsum* M.
§ 14. 7, 13 *suasissem. Annos* — *suasi. Sed annos* M.
§ 16. 8, 7 *exstat* — *extat* M.; et sim. semper.
§ 18. 8, 25 *quo modo; Karthagini male*—*quo modo Karthagini* . . ., *cui male* M.
§ 28. 12, 20 *exsequi* — *exequi* M.; et sim. semper.
§ 31. 13, 12 *Iam enim tertiam* — *Tertiam iam enim* M.
§ 33. 14, 12 *adsit* — *absit* M. (erratum ?).
§ 35. 15, 12 *morbum* — *morborum vim* M.
§ 37. 16, 2 *mos patrius* — *patrius mos* M.
§ 44. 18, 31 *Quorsum* — *Quorsus* M.
19, 12 *crebro* — *cereo* M.
§ 49. 21, 3 *Mori paene videbamus . . . caeli* — † *Mori videbamus . . . paene caeli* M.
§ 68. 29, 3 *cum id* — *quod id* M.
29, 4 *sit* — *est* M.
§ 71. 30, 5 *vi avelluntur* — *vix evelluntur* M.
§ 72. 30, 12 *possis* — *possit* M.
§ 73. 30, 27 *elogium est* — *est elogium* M.
§ 82. 34, 12 *se* — *se ipsos* M.
34, 17 *ullo labore et* — *ullo aut labore aut* M.
§ 83. 34, 27 *cui* — *cuius* M.
§ 85. 36, 4 *defetigationem* — *defectionem* M.

LAELIUS.

§ 2. 37, 16 *permultis* — *forte multis* M.
37, 18 *plebis* — *pl.* M.
37, 21 *querela*—*querella* M. | *Scaevola, cum*—*Scaevola cum* M.

§ 8. 40, 4 *collegio* — *conlegio* M. | *valetudinem* — *valitudinem* M.; sim. 45, 7; 45, 31.
§ 12. 41, 24 *cum* — *quom* M.; sim. 43, 14; 46, 10; 52, 5; 63, 14.
§ 23. 46, 24 *percipi* — *perspici* M.
§ 24. 47, 2 *efferat* — *ecferat* M.
47, 13 *qua* — *quae* M.
§ 26. 48, 3 *meritis, quod* — *meritis quod* M.
§ 38. 52, 25 *videmus* — *vidimus* M.
§ 39. 53, 8 *et minime tum quidem acer C. frater; nunc idem acerrimus* — *et minime tum quidem C. frater nunc idem acerrimus* M.
§ 41. 53, 25 *Serpit id in dies, resque* — *Serpit* † *deinde res, quae* M.
§ 49. 56, 18 *inanibus* — *inanimis* M.
§ 53. 58, 2 *ferunt, tum exsulantem* — *ferunt exulantem, tum* M.
§ 61. 60, 20 *ut etiam, si* — *ut, etiamsi* M.
§ 63. 61, 10 *utamur, quasi* — *utamur quasi* M.
§ 65. 62, 23 *suspiciosum, semper* — *suspiciosum semper* M.
§ 73. 64, 29 *Lucium* — *L.* M.
§ 74. 64, 32 *corroboratis* — *conroboratis* M.
65, 8 *mores disparia* — *mores, disparia* M.

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* The references are made to page and line, and may serve for the notes as well as the text. When attention is called to a note the letter n. is added to the numbers. The Roman numerals refer to the Introduction.